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Near East/South Asia Report

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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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SOUTH KOREAN TRADE WITH ARAB STATES REVIEWED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Dec 85 pp 69-71

[Interview with South Korean Director of Trade Promotion Park On-So by Faysal Abu Zaki: "Our Problem with the Arab States Is Our Trade Balance Deficit With Them"; in Seoul, date not given]

[Text] South Korea is considered one of the principal states to have carried out substantial activities in Arab markets in general and in the Gulf markets in particular during the past 10 years. Korean contracting companies have obtained a share of Arab projects, and particularly Gulf projects, because of their strong competitive capability. The heavy presence of Korean workers in some of the Gulf countries has begun to receive emphasis because of the large numbers of workers involved.

Undoubtedly, the reduction in oil revenues among the Arab oil states has had its effect on the Korean companies as on companies of other foreign states. Nonetheless, the Korean companies still have a large and active presence and are actively working to strengthen this presence in a number of Arab countries, notably Iraq and Libya.

However, Korea is trying to compensate for the present decline in the construction sector of the Arab markets by diversifying its exports to these markets and by attracting Arab investments in Korea. "Korean products are high in quality and are cheaper than similar products, so why shouldn't the Arabs be willing to buy them?" So asks the general director of the Foreign Trade Promotion Section of South Korea's Ministry of Trade and Industry, Mr Park On-So, speaking to AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL. The Koreans are trying to convince the Arabs of this.

AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL met with the Korean official named above and reviewed with him the state of the Korean economy and its current initiatives in light of the growth of American protectionist sentiments. More importantly, AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A-MAL also reviewed with Mr Park the state of Korean economic relations, Korea's current initiatives, and its horizons of development in light of the present variables in the Arab markets themselves and, in particular, in the markets of the Gulf states. The results of the interview follow.

[Question] How do you assess the Korean economic situation during the current phase?

[Answer] We have achieved a relatively high rate of growth of 8.6 percent over the past 25 years. We expect that the GNP will grow at an annual rate of between 7 and 8 percent from 1986 through 1995. We aspire to become a member in the club of industrialized states by the mid-1990's. However, we are now facing several obstacles in our attempt to continue the advancement and development of our economy. The most important of these obstacles is the heavy burden that has been imposed upon us by the need to service our foreign debts. Nevertheless, we expect that we will be able to service out debts and achieve a high rate of growth during the next decade. We also expect the average per capita income in Korea to increase from $2,000 in 1984 to $5,000 in 1990.

At the present time, we are suffering from some difficulties resulting from growing protectionist measures in the developed states. Our exports decreased approximately 3 percent during the first 8 months of 1985 compared with the same period last year. Our main goal was to export $35 billion in exports. This is naturally less than we had hoped for. In any case, a new round of negotiations on GATT is scheduled for the first half of 1986, and this may help ease protectionist restrictions by the industrialized states.

Korean-Arab Relations

[Question] What is your assessment of economic relations with the Arab states?

[Answer] Economic relations with the Arab states have been variable over the past 20 years, as has the nature of business. The Arab states' share of our exports increased from 3 percent in 1974 to 10 percent in 1984. Moreover, our volume of exports from the Arab world has grown from $1 billion in 1974 to approximately $4.7 billion in 1984.

The Korean companies working in the Arab states concentrated their efforts on the construction of housing units, medical centers, and the like, However, there is currently a shift from this type of building to the construction of factories and plants. Some 25 percent of the factories and plants built by the Korean companies are in the Arab countries.

Our foreign investments in the Arab countries have reached 10 percent of our total investments of $540 million up to 1984. Our investments in the Arab world are expected to grow and Korean companies are expected to increase their activities in the field of exporting factories and plants to the Arab states in the future. We want to export additional Korean products such as consumer products and intermediate products to the Arab countries, and this is what we are working to achieve.

The fact is that there is a problem in our trade relations with the Arab states, represented by the deficit in our trade balance with them. This deficit was under $800 million in 1974, and had increased to $2 billion in 1984. Korea is suffering from a chronic deficit in its trade balance. Indeed, our trade balance has never had a surplus in our modern history. As I said, we have a large burden in the servicing of our foreign debts, which have reached approximately $46 billion according to figures of June 1985. This represents 25 percent of our total national income. We are, in fact, the fourth largest debtor state in the world. The total service of this debt represents 15.7 percent of all our exports, which is much less than the percentages prevailing in Brazil and Argentina, for example. We must save between $6 and $7 billion annually in order to repay the principal and interest on these debts. This represents some 8 percent of our GNP, which is a heavy burden for us.

Therefore, we want to increase our exports to the Arab countries, not in order to decrease our trade deficit with them, which is $2 billion--a large sum for us--but rather to ease the general deficit in our trade balance.

The United States represents the largest market for our exports, accounting for 37 percent of all our exports. However, as you know, the United States is redoubling its protectionist measures.

There are now approximately 300 legislative bills related to protectionism that have been submitted to the American Senate. The most serious of these bills is one called the Jenkins Bill which, if passed, would restrict imports of textiles from the developing states. A second bill called the Import Surcharge Bill calls for the imposition of additional tariffs (approximately 25 percent) on imports into the United States from other states, in particular from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Brazil. These states are targeted with the aim of reducing the American trade deficit with them.

Passage of the Jenkins Bill would result in a reduction in our exports of textiles to the United States by approximately 35 percent, which represents over $500 million. It should also lead to the loss of more than 100,000 jobs in the textiles industry. There are also other bills relating to shoes, steel, and automobile parts. All of these bills, if passed, would have a negative effect on the exportation of our products. This would certainly lead to an increase in our trade balance deficit, and as a consequence we would face some difficulties in servicing our foreign debts. For this reason, we must diversify the markets for our exports, because we need to obtain hard currencies to pay our debt service.

Repercussions of the Oil Crisis

[Question] A number of Korean companies have obtained huge construction contracts in the Arab states, but they have probably been affected by the prevailing economic situation in the region resulting from the decline in oil revenues. How is the Korean government dealing with this situation?

[Answer] The states of the Middle East are considered among the largest and most important markets for the Korean companies working in the field of construction, since 90 percent of the contracts of these companies had come from the Middle Eastern states. For that reason, this market is important and fateful with regard to the Korean construction companies.

However, several of the oil exporting states have reduced or postponed a number of their construction projects because of declining prices and exports of oil. We also have a number of completed projects which have not yet been paid for. We understand the situation. We hope that the situation will return to normal in the oil states in the near future. The government is setting aside some funds to help some states in the Middle East to get past some their financial difficulties. For example, the Korean EXIM Bank is extending the period of repayment from 7 to 10 years in a number of cases for some of the Middle Eastern states. In addition, the Korean commercial banks are providing financing with deferred payments as well as extending periods of repayment from 360 to 720 days. Naturally, these incentives are offered on a case-by-case basis since the necessary funds are not available for complete application.

Relations with Iraq and Libya

[Question] Korea has good trade relations with several of the Arab states, particularly Libya and Iraq. Recently, the Iraqi government has invited certain Korean companies to participate in some existing project in Iraq. Are there some new developments in this area?

[Answer] During last September, Iraqi Minister of Trade Hasan 'Ali visited Korea to discuss bilateral trade relations, including the projects you mentioned.

The possibility of purchasing additional quantities of Iraqi crude oil was discussed. The Iraqis will increase their production capacity by means of the new pipelines that pass through Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Talks are now in progress among the concerned parties represented by the oil exporting companies in Iraq and the oil importing companies in Korea. There will be additional meeting on this matter. The Iraqi and Korean ministers agreed to extend the repayment period for loans made to Iraq by the Korean commercial banks from 360 to 720 days. In addition, the Korean government approved the allocation of 80 percent of the necessary funds for several projects in Iraq through the Korean EXIM Bank.

As you know, the Korean Dang Ho Consortium won a contract in Libya with over $3 billion. This involves the implementation of the first phase of the Great Man-made River project. This consortium is working hard to win the contract for implementation of the second phase of the project, which is now being offered by the Libyan government. This project will also be financed by the Korean EXIM Bank. I know that several high-level Libyan officials visited Korea last month to discuss the second phase of the project and matters are still under negotiation. The first installment of the project amounted to some $800 million.

Arab Investment in Korea

[Question] What has the Korean government done thus far to encourage Arab investors to invest in Korea?

[Answer] Frankly, we do not have many Arab investors who come to Korea, and this is due to a lack of readily available information about the Korean market. Most Arab businessmen still prefer to invest much of their money in the United States. We constantly send our trade delegations to the Arab states with the aim of developing and expanding bilateral trade opportunities and improving business opportunities through investment in joint ventures in the Arab world. Korea intends to send more trade delegations to the Arab world in 1986 with the aim of attracting Arab investors to Korea. When you invest in Korea, you will be able to profit from a number of superior advantages such as a geographical site in the middle of East Asia. For example, when you have a plant in Korea, you can easily ship products to China, west of Korea, to Japan, east of Korea, and to the other Asian states to the south of Korea. Each of these states is slated to become a dynamic economic center during the next decade.

Moreover, the quality of the workforce in Korea is good, and manpower is distinguished by high efficiency and productivity. The government provides a number of incentives to foreign investors such as tax exemptions for a period of 5 years. This applies to any kind of investment in general.

The Arab states have good relations with the European states. The European states possess high technology and the Arab states possess capital, and thus European technology comes together with Arab capital. The same thing can occur with Korea, because Korea enjoys a competitive edge.

[Question] What measures has the Korean government taken to diversify its exports to the Arab states, as Japan, for example, has done in the past?

[Answer] We began to export our products to the Arab world in the beginning of the 1970's. At that time, most of our exports were concentrated in building materials such as cement, iron, and the like. However, matters have now begun to change, and there is a shift to the exportation of iron products, silk, consumer products, some household implements, electronics, ships, machines, and so forth.

Therefore, we are working to diversify with regard to our types of products. We believe that the Arab market is an important market for Korea. I know that most of the Arab states prefer fo buy from Japan, the United States, and Europe. But we have a competitive advantage with respect to quality and price. We can ensure higher quality at lower prices. We now export small passenger cars to Canada, the United States, and some of the European states. The Korean cars are competitive with the other cars, in price among other things. The first shipment to the United States will be sent in early 1986. We are exporting 60,000 to 70,000 Pony cars to Canada. Huyandai Automotive Company owns a plant and an assembly unit in Canada, and a parts plant will also be built there. As for ships built in Korea, they are high in quality and lower in price compared to ships made in Japan. We also export rail locomotives and parts for them.

We want to expand our bilateral trade relations with the Arab states. There are many Koreans working in the Arab states. For example, Koreans do not like mutton, but since many Koreans have lived in the Arab countries, demand for this meat has risen and we now import some mutton from the Arab states. Our imports are varied, beginning with oil and ending with other products. We import many raw materials from the Arab states.

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HEALTH MINISTERS DISCUSS DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 5 Jan 86 p 3

[Text] Today ministers of health of the Arab Gulf states begin the meetings of their 20th conference, which will last for 4 days in the Sultanate of Oman. Speaking in the opening ceremonies will be the minister of health in the Sultanate of Oman, the minister of health in the state of Qatar, and the president of the 10th session. Then the secretary general of the council of ministers of health of the Arab states in the Gulf will say a word, and after that the working sessions will begin, during which a president and a secretary will be elected, the drafting committee will be selected, and the agenda and daily work program will be decided upon. Then the report of the secretary general on the actions and accomplishments of the general secretariat during the 10th session will be discussed, and they will also go into discussing technical, administrative and organizational issues. Among the subjects that will be brought up in the agenda will be the coordination of efforts to combat malaria among the member states, combatting smoking, and chemical safety, medical examinations of workers arriving from abroad, combatting cholera in a region, care of mothers and infants, the sharing by medical services users of the treatment costs according to joint scheduled production, the first Gulf symposium on professional health, the first Gulf symposium on hospital administration, and the third Gulf symposium on health planning.

The ministers will also discuss the subject of collective buying of pharmaceuticals and of medical equipment, pharmaceutical production, the standardization of courses in medical institutes and nursing schools, and the establishment of an authoritative regional center for combatting disease. In addition, they will sanction the final statement for 1985, the general secretariat's draft budget for the current year 1986, and the financial obligations of the member states towards joint programs and projects. Also during the conference, the secretary general for the upcoming period will be named.

Al-Ashi's Words

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met with Dr Jalal Ashi, the Saudi assistant deputy minister of health for preventative medicine and the secretary general of the council of ministers of health of Arab Gulf states. He said that during the past 10 years many studies have been done, and also that great strides forward have been made in the field of cooperation and joint coordination.

Regarding combatting malaria in the Gulf region, we have agreed upon a unified strategy to combat this disease, according to which it will be done away with in some states within 5 years, though it might be as much as 10 years in other states, depending on the circumstances of the patients in those states. With regard to combatting smoking, Gulf states have taken precedence among Arab states in taking steps guaranteed to combat smoking, since they have taken effective steps to reduce the harm caused to humans by smoking, and they have formed committees for this purpose, and they have imposed conditions on imported tobacco so that the amount of nicotine and tar may be as low as possible.

He added that last year a symposium on professional health took place, and another on health planning, and one on hospital administration, and these symposia have resulted in constructive studies. With respect to professional health, it is known that several parties work with the minister of health, and there were some states that had not yet determined which party should be responsible for these professional health services, and the details were worked out by the competent authorities in the region, and parties and responsibilities were defined as well. With respect to the symposium on health planning, after the importance of the studies that were presented in this symposium on the development of health work in the Gulf was shown, we believed that it should continue on a regular basis, and it was agreed to hold it once a year.

Arriving Workers

With regard to the subject of professional health, the Gulf region receives workers from abroad, and many of those arrive from states where the standard of health is not at the desired level, and where it is somewhat low. Therefore we decided several years ago that a person arriving to work in our states should undergo a medical examination, on condition that the medical examination be done after his arrival to make sure that he was healthy. It applied in particular to those working in homes, and to those who had direct contact with the public as food handlers and workers in restaurants and hotels.

There is another subject which holds the interest of the council and the general secretariat, and that concerns the care of mothers and infants. In order for there to be sound, scientific planning with respect to this subject, we had to know the mortality rates, and we were faced with some difficulty because some states in the region did not have realistic rates. Therefore, we resorted to a study that will be conducted along with the rest of the states of the Gulf region in order to discover mortality rates. Prince Talal ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, head of the Arab Gulf program supporting United Nations development and human organizations, has expressed his willingness to help finance this study, and he has given us the green light without limitations to participate in conducting this study that will have a decisive effect on laying down a scientific plan for protecting infants and mothers.

Buying Pharmaceuticals

Dr al-Ashi spoke on the subject of collective buying of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment. We began to implement it 8 years ago; the costs of the first joint bidding, as we have shown, was about a million dollars, while the seventh bidding was up to $35 million, and the eighth bidding, which was held last year, was about $50 million, and that constitutes about 20 percent of our states' demands, not for all groups of medicines but for portions of them. We now import from companies that can be depended upon and that have good quality; in addition we have achieved prices that are quite low in some cases, often reduced by 30 percent or more of what we would have paid if each state had bought them on an individual basis. In addition, there is the matter of collective buying of medical equipment for individual use, and there the value of the previous bidding for this year reached about $20 million, so there were about $70 million going to the collective buying of medicines and medical equipment together, and we expect that that will increase year by year. This collective method has allowed large material savings, which has encouraged other states to use this collective method.

The general secretariat has also given attention to the manufacture of pharmaceuticals, and as a result of that pharmaceutical plants have been set up. One of them is in Kuwait, and it will begin production in 18 months, and another is in al-Qasim, and we expect that it will also begin production within 4 years. That is in addition to pharmaceutical plants in Iraq which manufacture antibiotics. All of them are integrated with one another, and there is complete coordination among these plants so that duplication will not occur.

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GCC'S ORGANIZATION FOR SPECIFICATIONS, MEASURES DESCRIBED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 28 Jan 86 p 4

[Text] Dr Khalid Yusuf al-Khalaf, director general of the Saudi Arabian Agency for Specifications and Measurements and secretary general of the agency for specifications in the Cooperation Council states, told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the bylaws of the agency for specifications and measurements of the Gulf Cooperation Council states had been settled upon. He said: These bylaws include the basic framework and also define the autonomous legal identity of the agency for specifications and measurements of the Council states, with Riyadh choosen as its headquarters.

Dr al-Khalaf pointed out that the bylaws define the powers of the board of directors and the powers of the secretary general, and they lay down the general framework of the agency's policy, its goals and the purpose behind its establishment.

He mentioned that deciding upon the bylaws of the agency came after studies and numerous meetings among the member states that had lasted some time, and especially after a study of the method and course to be followed concerning the way of preparing specifications and their authorization by the board of directors. He pointed out that 86 standardized Gulf specifications of measurement will be distributed among the 6 member states of the Cooperation Council, to each state according to its existing technological capabilities and its particular interests.

He said: During the session which was held in Muscat, the board of directors authorized the specifications of the two-way teletype, and others for the printer used for computers, and for the wordprocessor. Thus the total number of standardized specifications authorized so far is now 50 Gulf specifications.

In answer to a questionon the certificate of conformity for cars imported into the Gulf states, he said: The ministers discussed this subject and it was agreed to authorize this certificate and have it certified by the agency for specifications and measurements for the Cooperation Council states in Riyadh. This certified certificate, required by the Gulf states, will be distributed so that each Gulf state can implement the specifications of cars and allow them to enter if they conform to the standardized specifications of measurement. This procedure will continue to be followed until the end of June 1986, when the board of directors of the agency of specifications and measurements for the Cooperation Council states is scheduled to meet next.

He added: All states exporting cars to the Gulf states are now required to submit certificates of conformity for the cars that they will be sending to the Gulf states at least 3 months in advance of export, so that no car will be allowed to enter the Gulf states that is not accompanied by a certificate certified by the agency.

Dr al-Khalaf confirmed that the position of the agency of specifications and measurements in each state will remain independent of the general secretariat, and that the inspection offices in each state will themselves be responsible for applying, implementing, and following up on the implementation of the decisions of the board of directors.

Concerning the purpose behind establishing an independent agency for the Cooperation Council states, he said: Measurement is strongly tied to the various facets of development, and so states whose interests are tied to economic integration must be coordinated in the area of specifications and measurements, in view of the fact that they are a tool helping to achieve this goal, and so this is what is applied to the Cooperation Council states, whose interests are similar and whose destinies are linked together.

About the prize that will be awarded to the ideal factory in the area of quality and the steps to be followed in this respect, he said that the Saudi agency for specifications and measurements had drawn up a regulation, called the rule of the mark of quality and certificate of conformity, which will begin to be applied as of the end of Rabi' al-Thani 1406 AH. The purpose of this rule is to raise the standard of the quality of local products and to ensure that factories follow modern methods of quality control in the factory so that the standard of their products will not be inconsistent.

He said: The rule defines the steps and measures that a factory must follow in order to acquire the right to place a specific mark, called the mark of quality, on its products, since before granting the factory this mark, the Saudi agency for specifications and measurements will make preliminary visits to the factory, take samples of its products to the agency's laboratories, and make sure that the product conforms to Saudi measurement specifications. Then the factory is given the right to place this mark on its products. After that, the agency begins to follow up on its production with periodic surprise visits while it has the license to use this mark.

In order to promote national industry, the agency decided to award an annual prize to the best factory that uses modern means of quality control. This prize is called the "quality control cup," and it will be presented at the same time as the King Fahd prize for the ideal factory, the safety prize, and the maintenance prize.

Dr al-Khalaf said that it is a nonmaterial prize, but that it is very important because it constitutes a sort of promotion for the goods of the winners, and it strengthens their advertising and moral position. It will also encourage factories and press them to follow quality control methods, to keep an eye on the products, and to equip the factory with the necessary means to ensure quality control of their production, and that will certainly be reflected directly on factories' concern with the quality of the products.

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SYMPOSIUM ON PETROCHEMICALS MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 28 Jan 86 p 4

[Text] The symposium on integrating the petrochemical industry in the Arab countries has sharply criticized the measures taken by the European Economic Community that entailed the continuation of customs duties imposed on Arab petrochemical products exported to the countries in this group, in particular those measures that were taken while talks were going on between the group and the general secretariat of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf states.

That came in the closing statement issued by the symposium on integrating the petrochemical industry in the Arab countries that was held last week in Bahrain.

A responsible source in the general secretariat of the Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf States said in a statement yesterday that those meeting in the symposium believe that these measures cannot be considered favorable to the Arab states, but rather constitute an obstacle to cooperation between the Arab states and states of the European Common Market.

The source added that the symposium confirmed the need to diversify "feeds" in order to create opportunities for producing other essential petrochemicals in sufficient quantities, such as aromatics, propylene and butadiene, for participation in future integrative plans. He pointed to the fact that the Arab petrochemical industry is still characterized by almost total dependence on natural gas as a feed.

The source mentioned that the symposium's closing statement described plans for developing petrochemical industries in the Arab world as being of a regional nature, and that the coordination between these plans needed to achieve sought-after integrative goals did not exist, except in some Arab and other projects in various stages of study and planning.

The source explained that the symposium called for work towards opening Arab markets to Arab products by way of removing all customs barriers and other things in order to facilitate commercial trade activity between them.

He confirmed that the symposium had called for the acceleration of setting up joint Arab projects that would serve integration in the area of petrochemical industries within the framework of Arab integration of petrochemical industries. It said that facilitations, exemptions, and needed discounts on the prices of primary materials for these projects should be offered, and it mentioned the need to facilitate the marketing of their products in the markets of the Arab states.

The source said that the symposium had confirmed that it would be necessary to finance import and export operations necessary for the exchange of petrochemical products between Arab countries in order to strengthen and develop Arab industry, and also that the credit needed for financing exports and exchanging goods between Arab states should be provided, and that the security needed for this credit should be provided, especially by the Arab Establishment for Investment Security.

The source indicated that the symposium's closing statement urged Arab states and Arab funds that offer foreign technical and financial aid to use a portion of this aid for exporting petrochemical products to those parties, and not to provide aid to projects competing with Arab projects.

The participants recommended that a similar symposium he held once every 2 years to take up subjects dealing with the development of the petrochemical industry in general, and its integration in particular.

The symposium also recommended that a working group be formed to follow up on the results of its actions. It would be made up of representatives from the four organizations that were in charge of arranging this symposium, along with the companies that are connected with the petrochemical industry. It would meet once a year, or whenever the need called for it.

The symposium on integrating the petrochemical industry in the Arab regions was held in Bahrain from the 20th to the 22nd of the current month of January, on the initiative of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Counties, the Arab Organization for Industrial Development, the general secretariat of the Cooperation Council of Arab Gulf States, and the Gulf Organization for Industrial for Industrial Investments.

Participating in the symposium were 120 members from various Arab and non-Arab countries and 45 Arab industrial and investment establishments, in addition to the Union of Arab Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Arab University, the Union of Arab Economists, and representatives from the European Common Market.

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LIBERAL PARTY CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES PARTY'S PROBLEMS

Doha AL-'URUBAH in Arabic 2 Jan 86 pp 20-21

[Interview with Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Socialist Liberal Party: "Mustafa Kamil Murad: We Stand to Left of al-Wafd Party and to Right of National Party"]

[Text] Cairo--In 1977, Anwar al-Sadat appointed him leader of the Egyptian opposition after awarding him the chairmanship of the Socialist Liberal Party. Two years later, he failed to enter the People's Assembly after continuous membership for 22 years. He lost abysmally in his election district in South Cairo to a Muslim Brotherhood candidate. But he did not despair and he again waged last year the parliamentary elections at the head of his party's list in the same district only to be surprised with getting less than 400 votes out of a total of more than 200,000 votes and to find his party at the bottom of the list of Egyptian parties without any representative in the People's Assembly.

He is Mustafa Kamil Murad, the chairman of the rightist Liberal Party, whose name has been tied to that of former Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat. He is also the only Egyptian party chairman to visit Israel. He was recently relieved from his position as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Eastern Cotton Company which he had run for 20 uninterrupted years.

Even though Mustafa Kamil Murad is no longer of any importance in Egyptian political life now that the circulation of his party's paper has dropped to the lowest level among the Egyptian partisan and government papers and that party membership itself has dropped to such a degree that the party was unable in the latest parliamentary elections to enlist a sufficient number of candidates to wage the elections in all the districts and was content to wage them in nearly half of the districts because of the number of candidates available to it--despite all this, Mustafa Kamil Murad has taken the opportunity of the recent events which culminated with the U.S. aircraft's interception of an Egyptian airliner to try to rise in the political limelight again. He participated in the general statement issued by the opposition parties' chairmen and took part with these chairmen in meeting with President Husni Mubarak.

Because history is written through the reality, regardless of whether we agree of disagree with this reality, AL-'URUBAH went to confront Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman and al-Sadat's man, and to record with him a new document for history on Egypt's political reality.

Review of Relations

[Question] It may be appropriate to begin the dialogue with clarifying the Liberal Party's viewpoint of the recent events, especially since you have met with President Husni Mubarak as part of the delegation of party chairmen.

[Answer] The president did not discuss our demands and was content only with clarifying the picture. He assured us that the opposition has the right to express its opinion through any legal means it chooses.

As for us in the Liberal Party, we find it necessary to reexamine relations between Egypt and each of Israel and the United States. I believe that there is an obvious U.S.-Israeli scheme that contradicts the peace policy followed by Egypt. This scheme started with an Israeli cabinet coalition between the Likud and Labor Parties. This is an indication that Israel plans to embark on momentous events that require the solidarity of all the Israeli parties.

In the wake of this coalition, the strategic cooperation treaty was concluded between the United States and Israel and was followed by another agreement to establish a free trade zone between them to strengthen the Israeli economy now that Israel has been turned into one of the U.S. states--a state enjoying all the U.S. benefits without paying taxes to the federal government.

Israel then staged its barbaric raid against the PLO leadership in Tunis, with the planning and assistance of the U.S. 6th Fleet. There are other steps of this scheme that will be carried out in succession. I expect the next Israeli aggression to take place against Jordan.

Israel works to create a protective belt around it, as Sharon told me on my visit to Israel several years ago.

[Question] On the mention of this visit, what is the nature of your relationship with Israel, especially since we have information confirming that the Israeli embassy in Cairo invites you to the diplomatic parties it gives?

[Answer] All that has happened is that I visited Israel with President al-Sadat. When I attended the International Liberal Conference in Stockholm in 1983, we had a dialogue with the Israeli Liberal Party, which also attended the conference. Last year, we rejected the invitation Israel sent us to attend the International Liberal Conference in protest of its convocation in Tel Aviv, having become certain that Israel is not serious in seeking peace.

As for the Israeli ambassador in Cairo, he visited me once immediately after the opening of the embassy. We have not met at all since then and I have not attended any parties at the Israeli embassy. I am now convinced that Israel does not want peace, and neither does the United States, by evidence of the fact that Reagan himself commanded the operation of intercepting the Egyptian airliner while on board one of the aircraft. This is why I have urged the need for reexamination of the Egyptian relations with each of Israel and the United States.

The Wafd Robbed Us

[Question] Do you believe that the Liberal Party represents a political current in the Egyptian street and what are the features of this current?

[Answer] I believe that we represent a strong public opinion in Egypt and that the emergence of this opinion on the surface requires time. We represent the free liberal opinion and the Egyptian people love the freedom of investment and commerce, a balanced relationship between the landlord and the tenant, and so forth.

[Question] But the Wafd Party also represents these principles?

[Answer] Because the Wafd has stolen most of its programs from the Liberal Party. They have also lured many persons from our party to join them. Generally, we consider al-Wafd Party to be positioned to our right and the ruling National Party a little to our left. There is a degree of agreement in viewpoints between us and the National Party. But we are very far from the Labor and Grouping Parties.

Disagreement on Positions

[Question] The Liberal Party you head has experienced several crises recently, the most significant being the disagreement between you and a number of the party leaders who issued a communique against you and signed under the name of the Liberal Front. Some of them have resorted to the administrative judiciary to block some of your decisions.

[Answer] These leaders' disagreement with the party was a disagreement over positions. We referred them to the Violations Committee which has decided to dismiss them from the party. We will present this decision to the party's Political Bureau.

[Question] How about the problem of the drop in the circulation of your paper to an unprecedented level?

[Answer] We were the first to issue an opposition newspaper. AL-AHALI, AL-SHA'B, AL-WAFD, and AL-UMMAH followed in succession. When we were the only party issuing a paper, it was normal for the circulation to rise to high figures. With the publication of the other partisan opposition newspapers, the readership was divided among them and this has led to a drop in the circulation rate.

[Question] But some assert that the reason for the drop in the paper's circulation is its surprising attack on the late President 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Nasirists, which is an abnormal attack from the paper of a party headed by one of the participants in the 23 July revolution.

[Answer] I loved President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir very much. He was a great leader the likes of whom Egypt has not seen yet. But this does not deny that he had his faults, and only God is infallible. Those who have viewpoints opposing 'Abd-al-Nasir's policies are entitled to publish and explain these viewpoints. This is what we do in AL-AHRAR.

[Question] What about the problem of the unavailability of offices for the party? Is it true that the party used the offices of the Eastern Cotton Company, which you headed, as its offices, including the apartment in which we are sitting now and which is allocated for you as a party chairman, and the apartment allocated for Al-AHRAR which is in the same building?

[Answer] We did not take any offices from the company. We acquired all our party's offices in accordance with the 1977 decision of the general secretary of the Socialist Union's Central Committee. They belonged to the Socialist Union at the time. This is what happened with all the parties. As for the apartment in which we are sitting and for the other apartment allocated for AL-AHRAR, we acquired them in accordance with a decree by an ex-prime minister.

They Have Relieved Me Because I Am Opponent

[Question] By the way, do you think that the decision to relieve you from the chairmanship of the Eastern Cotton Company's Board of Directors has its political reasons and what are these reasons?

[Answer] Of course it has its political reasons. Don't forget that I am the chairman of an opposition party and that I have opposed the policies of the minister of economy who has found no other recourse but to relieve me from the company chairmanship in revenge. Generally, I had not planned to continue to head the company and had previously tendered my resignation from the chairmanship of the Cottons Establishment when the public establishments were abolished because I believed that those establishments played an important role in the economic policy. President al-Sadat was the one who asked me to continue my chairmanship of the Eastern Cotton Company because I had begun implementing a number of projects and he wanted me to continue their implementation.

[Question] With regard to the Maritime Transport Company, it is said that you exploited your position to form several companies that belong to you.

[Answer] This is untrue. All the companies I founded during my chairmanship of the Eastern Cotton Company are subject to the investment law and their monies are considered public monies because most of their shareholders are public-sector companies.

Coalition Lessons

[Question] Will the Liberal Party wage the next elections, be they People's Assembly, Consultative Council, or local elections, under the canopy of the present election law?

[Answer] If the elections are to be held in accordance with the list system, regardless of whether an absolute or relative list, then we will not wage them because they will be a farce and their outcome is known in advance, namely a majority win for the ruling party. The election law must be amended to restore the individual district system in order that we may wage the elections. But under the current law, no.

[Question] The Liberal Party is considered the party closest to the ruling authority. You had the experience of a coalition with the National Party when it was founded. What did you learn from that experience and can it be repeated?

[Answer] A coalition was actually formed between us and the ruling party when the latter was founded, especially when al-Sadat selected Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, our party's deputy chairman, to be the general secretary of the new National Party. But we terminated the coalition because some of the National Party's leadership elements did not understand its meaning and because the coalition did not understand its meaning and because the coalition did not serve its objective.

Majority, to Whom?

[Question] Each of the political forces and parties in Egypt declares that it has the majority in the political street. In your opinion, which of them does actually have the majority?

[Answer] No one has the majority in the political street, especially since there are numerous groups, such as the Islamic groups, the Nasirists, and the communists, who have not yet formed their parties. Moreover, the material resources of all the parties, excluding al-Wafd, are limited. We are not at all permitted to use the radio or television to address the masses. This is evident in the voters' records, considering that the number of voters registered in them does not exceed 12 million whereas the actual number of people to whom the voting requirements apply is 27 million voters. This dictates the immediate reexamination of these records, if we want to open the door of political participation to all of the people's factions.

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WAFD PARTY LEADERS CALL FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 2 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Ahmad Ibrahim al-Ba'thi: "Al-Wafd Deputies Debate President's Statement; Promulgation of New Constitution Must Be for Correcting Democracy's Course"]

[Text] During their debate on the president's statement, Wafd Parliamentary Committee members demanded immediate steps to change the constitution and to issue a new constitution that meets the peoples's demands and reflects the masses' pulse and thoughts as a sincere translation of the call for the greater awakening and for liberating the Egyptian people from the chains of negativism and the shackles of indifference that rule them.

Al-Wafd deputies agreed unanimously on the need to eliminate all kinds of obstacles impeding democratic action, beginning with the method of electing the president of the republic--a method which now makes this position a monopoly and a privilege belonging to one party--and ending with the manner in which the local and people's councils are formed.

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar, leader of the Wafd opposition, said that the president stressed that the democratic process is what leads and guides us. It is our evaluation that the democratic climate in Egypt cannot be complete unless the means leading to this democracy are established. The first of these means is to amend the constitution in order to achieve a balance between the authorities because the existing constitution was promulgated in 1971 under a completely totalitarian system and lacks balance between the authorities. The executive authority, headed by the president of the republic, has all the power at the expense of the two other authorities. The executive authority overwhelms the legislative authority. This is embodied in Article 115 of the existing constitution. This article requires government approval for any People's Assembly decision to amend any of the budget's sections. This is surprising because parliamentary assemblies were created fundamentally to draw up budget bills. How can their power be tied by approval from the executive authority?

Balance is also missing insofar as the judiciary authority is concerned. The executive authority is the one that determines the judiciary authority's budget. I recall in this regard that when I was in the Appellate Count, the deputy chairman of the Japanese Appellate Court came for a visit and asked me if the judiciary is independent. I told him that there is a law concerning the judiciary's independence. But he proceeded to ask Who determines the judiciary's budget? I said that the executive authority does. His response was that the judiciary cannot be independent as long as their budget is in the executive authority's hand. Another example showing that the existing constitution impedes the democratic process concerns the president's election. The text clearly calls for appointment, not for a direct election which permits any citizen to be a candidate. The same applies to the position of vice president. Article 74 of the constitution permits the president to take emergency measures in case of internal unrest. This article was misused in the worst manner under the administration of late President Anwar al-Sadat to arrest 1,539 of his opponents in September 1981. There are other articles which impede the democratic process in our country.

The second means is to end the state of emergency because the emergency law threatens the democratic rights of the citizens to express opinions, meet, and travel. It also threatens the guarantees of freedom stipulated in the criminal procedures law to protect the citizens and their liberties. The third means lies in abolishing the many ill-reputed laws, such as Law No 33 of 1978 on political isolation because it is unimaginable to deny a citizen his public rights in a fully democratic climate. This means also lies in abolishing the Ethics Law, No 95 of 1980, because it creates a duality in the powers of investigation, Law No 105 concerning state security, the suspicion law, and other ill-reputed laws. The fourth means lies in austerity. This requires that the state, embodied in the president of the republic and the government, observe austerity, abolish the manifestations of pomp and extravagance, and reduce spending by 25 percent at least. The state will thus give the citizens an example. If this is achieved, I believe that the debts will be on the way to elimination and every Egyptian citizen will then know stability and tranquillity, thus increasing his production and his savings. Trust between the ruler and the ruled will also be established and tourism revenues will grow. All this will allow democracy to flourish in our country. But clinging to slogans does not create any sound democratic climate.

Where Is Opposition?

Deputy Yasan Siraj-al-Din said that the statement of the committee studying the president's speech has not underlined the opposition's role as it should, even though the president pointed out that opposition is one of the two wings of democracy and that there can be no democracy without opposition. Here we ask the National Party government: What has it offered the people?

We only find temporary palliatives for the masses' problems which include an insane rise in prices, supply bottlenecks, and deterioration in the conditions of the public utilities, including water, electricity, and sewerage. I agree with the president that the cure to these problems lies in exerting efforts to eliminate the obstacles that impede releasing the capabilities, establishing a fair system of reward and punishment, preventing the concentration of power in the hands of one person, and eliminating red tape. On this basis, we are not against the public sector but against the public sector's losses. This leads us to the question concerning the outcome of the investigation of the crimes of corruption and deviation in this essential sector and the question concerning the repayment of debts. I propose the issuance of bonds on attractive terms and under the name of "sovereignty bonds" because they will achieve Egypt's economic sovereignty. Let our people contribute to covering these bonds, as happened in the past. Egypt will thus become indebted to its citizens instead of being indebted to the foreigner. Insofar as political action is concerned, I demand the replacement of the entire constitution and the promulgation of a new constitution that reflects the masses' pulse and demands, which are well known to all, instead of resorting to the acts of patching up the constitution's robe. Herein begins the true democratic path and comes the true awakening.

Regarding foreign policy, especially Arab and African relations, these relations must be bolstered because during my visit to the United Nations as a member of the Egyptian official delegation I felt the African readiness to support Egypt and the Arab causes in a manner that promises good results. More than 45 countries supported us on more than 1 issue. President Mubarak's policy has worked toward achieving this objective. The number of African countries supporting us has actually increased and this has made Israel embark recently on extraordinary activity to establish a balance between itself and Egypt in the field of these relations. As for the Arab policy, I demand that the government intensify its efforts, without any sensitivity, to eliminate the the disagreements existing between it and some Arab countries, thus exploiting Yasir 'Arafat's visit to Cairo and the the issuance of the well-known Cairo declaration and relying also on the warm relations with Jordan, which is a big step toward reuniting the Arab ranks. As for foreign policy, I advise strengthening the understanding the understanding with the Soviet Union, especially in the wake of the rash U.S. actions that have taught us not to trust the Americans.

As for the Egyptian information policy, it must be reexamined in part and parcel, especially in terms of the blackout on the serious events concerning and affecting Egypt, the latest such event being the hijacking the Egyptian airliner. In this event, the blackout reached dimensions that evoke not only wrath but also ridicule and that demonstrate an unmatched lack of information. It is as if we live on another planet where we hear news about our country from the world's broadcasting stations before such news is broadcast by our radios. This is in addition to the unequal, not to mention nonexistent, chances which the national information media give all the opposition currents, even in the simplest symposiums in which non-political personalities participate. It is as if these media have been created to work only for the benefit of the National Party. Moreover, serious deficiencies have been discovered in the financial and fiscal structure of these media, lead by the Radio and Television Union. These are negative features that require bringing those responsible to account. I have already submitted my query to the cabinet.

Press Hamlets

Deputy Ahmad Hassan said: I disagree with some of the conclusions reached by the president's speech. A general climate for work and production must be created and this can be achieved only by utilizing all the production elements and by having the workers share in the responsibility through a return to the system of production councils which proved their usefulness and whose objective is different from that of the companies' boards of directors. The control and inspection agencies, which are the only agencies capable of stopping the regular plundering of the public-sector companies' budgets and of preventing the fabricated losses, must be given a strong boost. We must point out here what is happening in the press establishments which have been turned into hamlets owned by certain individuals whose unreasonable actions nobody can confront, especially actions pertaining to the disparity of wages. Egypt's workers demand that their bitter reality be made compatible with the raised slogans and that the labor leaderships abide by the word and spirit of President Mubarak's instructions so that he may not be in one valley and these leaderships in another.

Fahmi Nashid, a Consultative Council member, said that when President Mubarak emphasized that democracy is a living necessity, he called for observing the basic human rights, of which the most important are the right of participation in the decision making, the right of expression, the right of election and nomination and the right to form parties and of partisan pluralism. Consequently, he called for absolute abidance by a democracy founded on the people's sovereignty and a multiplicity of parties, on the judiciary's independence, on the sovereighty of the law, and on human rights. To achieve all these, the obstacles facing democratic action and the free expression of opinion--obstacles embodied in the law for the protection of the domestic front, the law of shame, the emergency law, the law on election to the People's Assembly in accordance with the relative list, and all the freedom-restricting laws--must be completely eliminated.

Rescuing Public Sector

Deputy 'Abd-al-Mun'im Faraj said that it is customary for the president's statement to outline the state's general policy and to entrust the cabinet to take the measures to implement this policy. One of the issues covered by the president's speech is the issue of the public sector's situation and of the numerous obstacles that cause the enormous losses incurred by this sector and that prevent it from performing its fundamental role in financing the economic and social development plan. I must stress that Egypt's public sector is the hope for solving all of Egypt's problems by virtue of the fact that this sector is tied to all aspects of life and that it penetrates all its activities. On this basis, the public sector must support the state and not be a burden it. Therefore, this sector must rely on itself to secure all its production requirements. Consequently, this sector must develop and embrace the latest technological methods. On the other hand, the public-sector companies must be treated in the same way as the joint-stock companies in terms of management. Ownership belongs to the state, but let us give these companies' boards of directors a free hand to manage their affairs in a manner that enhances the companies' services and goods. This can be achieved only by correcting the public-sector companies' financial structures and freeing them of all the shackles that hamper their movements and by curtailing the control agencies' activities, by allowing the companies to embrace the policies they see fit, and by being content to bring the companies to account for the objectives and the results.

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PAPER DOCUMENTS CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Dec 85 pp 5, 9

[Article by Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Perverted, Corrupt, and Evil Centers of Power"]

[Text] Some well-placed politicians and well-to-do personalities enjoy considerable influence and great power which enables them to enforce their will and exert pressure to achieve their ends. They are known as economic and political centers of power.

However, rampant perversion in the country and widespread corruption, mismanagement, and racketeering have created new centers of power that throw their weight around to realize their ambitions and employ their disgraceful and perverted ways to take revenge against all those who impede their way.

How else can we explain these people's survival in their positions despite all the slogans and principles of purity, honesty, democracy, and the great awakening? How can these people's ability to manipulate matters at will and steer events to buttress their influence and dominion be justified?

Let us review together some examples which have created confusion and anxiety among the population, which has lost confidence in all hopes of steering the march in the right direction.

Musa Sabri Proposes Laws That Restrict Freedom of the Press and Rights of Journalists

Mr Musa Sabri, the full-time writer for AKHBAR AL-YAWM, after reaching the official retirement age under the Power of the Press Law, is not satisfied with keeping his moral and material privileges which he enjoyed as board chairman and editor-in-chief of AKHBAR AL-YAWM, including offices, phones, secretaries, personal protection, a car and a radio phone, foreign travel, writing in the same space reserved for the editor-in-chief, and meddling in administrative affairs in his capacity as a consultant, something which has been banned in government and the public sector after the age of 60. He stands before the president of the republic to demand the enactment of legislation for summary judgments against journalists and for a new system of regulations for the so-called national press employees who work as chief editors in party newspapers!

"Journalist" Musa Sabri stood in the National Party's political club, as one of its members, to reply to what President Husni Mubarak, party president, said--that there was no room for complaint about press criticism and the demand for restricting freedom of the press but that the press must indeed be given full freedom and the party must counteract false news. This is besides the fact that the law and the courts have the ability to put a stop to such transgressions. So what did he say? He said, and how eloquently he has spoken, that turning to the courts in slander cases is impractical and can be a long-drawn process. He demanded the designation of special courts for the press for slander cases and a special prosecutor whereby such cases can be settled within 1 week.

Musa Sabri is thus instigating the chief of state, who declared his adherence to freedom of the press and the sovereignty of the law, to reinstate the special press prosecutor established in King Faruq's time when the press stepped up criticism against him and his entourage and to set up extraordinary courts for the press to deter journalists summarily within 7 days, even in the absence of all the facts and evidence. Hence, his sincere advice to the chief of state was to urge him to bury alive the freedom of the press and make an example of journalists, as he has urged the late President al-Sadat to enter into a battle with Islamic groups in the name of alleged sectarian strife!

The truth is that his only aim is to take personal revenge against his assailants, hence his attempts to involve the whole regime in the reprehensible crime of suppressing the press so that no voice may rise above his!

Indeed, his indomitable desire for revenge against his opponents has led him to demand that journalists working in the so-called national press be barred from party newspapers to prevent them from collecting two salaries and to force them to choose between national or party status.

Mr Musa Sabri forgot that he was speaking in his capacity as a member of the National Democratic Party while working and receiving his pay from a "national" press establishment. Hence, according to his logic, he must resign his position from AKHBAR AL-YAWM and move to MAYU, his party's organ.

Most, if not all, of the journalists working as chief editors in party newspapers used to be employed by AKHBAR AL-YAWM, but did not have the right to publish the articles they wrote for this establishment! Now that they have found a way to express themselves, are they going to be deprived of this right? It is nothing but a desire to bring about the downfall of Mustafa Shardi, editor-in-chief of AL-WAFD newspaper, who launched a vehement attack against him in retaliation for his constant attacks against Shardi, his party, and the leader of the party; to harm Mahmud 'Awad, recently appointed as editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAR newspaper, against whom he has the audacity to bring legal action demanding what he considered his violated rights; and to settle accounts with Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, editor-in-chief of AL-AHALI.

And whereas President Mubarak, in an effort to avoid a dispute over these intrinsically undemocratic demands, decided to refer them to the Higher Press Council and the Journalists' Union for examination, according to a front-page report in AL-AHRAM on 19 December 1985, we wonder about the legality of submitting such a verbal proposal made in a party meeting to higher councils and competent professional unions for study, especially since this action was not motivated by public interest but rather by personal vengeance and a desire to discredit and malign professional colleagues to satisfy a thirst for revenge. Add to that the bad impression this gives about the regime's direction with regard to freedom of the press and the preservation of the rights of journalists. This leads us to another question: Has Musa Sabri, who has been rejected by the people, who opposes democracy, and who is always instigating rulers to follow unpopular policies, become a center of power?

No Action Against Edfina Company Executive Responsible for Loss of Millions

The Edfina Canned Goods Company budget will be debated on the 26th of this month. It is the only budget to be prepared under the full responsibility of agricultural engineer 'Adil 'Izz-al-'Arab al-Samahi, who became board chairman after being appointed its commissioner when he was chief of the company's manufacturing division in Alexandria, although he had been indicted by a fact-finding committee and the government funds prosecutor for company losses in 1980-81.

In this budget, for which he is responsible, the 1984-85 budget, the company's losses totaled about 2,047,000 Egyptian pounds despite an allocated subsidy of 4.5 million pounds, thus bringing the real loss up to 6,547,000 pounds.

The chief of the food industries sector tried to justify these losses by attributing them to an increase in agricultural raw material prices and a higher rate for the dollar, not a convincing reason since this applies as well to the Qaha Company which operates in the same field and which showed profits for this year.

Rather, these losses are actually due to mismanagement as manifested in the following press accounts and available documents:

1. Ninety percent of company purchases are done directly without bids or competition, as stipulated by fiscal bylaws.

2. Improper practices for obtaining raw materials such as the Mango Purchasing Commission's contract agreement with the source, namely farm owners, whereby 12 tons were supplied in August 1985 at a price of 850 pounds a ton but which was soon dropped for imposing a 9-11 percent discount, thus prompting those farmers to deal through a middleman who was one of the company suppliers and who supplied the company for the rest of the season at 895 pounds per ton with a 3-4 percent discount rate.

3. Squandering of public money by destroying a huge number of company products, beginning with 20 tons of processed sardines, valued at 12,000 pounds in addition to salaries, incentives, overtime, and equipment wear and tear. Four tons of spoiled fava beans were also destroyed due to soaking in a preparation for processing without ensuring an adequate number of containers for canning. In reply to a press campaign against this kind of waste, it was claimed that the beans

were sent to the company's scrap unit to be processed as fodder, even though this unit went out of operation over 2 years ago. Moreover, the company produced mango juice in August 1985, but the entire supply was spoiled when the cans exploded and 250,000 pounds worth of juice were destroyed!

4. A kind of Japanese-manufactured sheet metal was imported under a contract agreement concluded by the head of the technical section who was dispatched by the company president to purchase it. Such a procedure was used for the first time, contrary to the customary practice of forming a joint committee from the Qaha and Edfina Companies to contract for the sheet metal which was found to cause spoilage when used for canning.

5. Unnecessary waste and squandering of company money such as the use of a Mercedes and a Fiat-131 car for the board chairman with public-sector symbols and license plate. There were the 9,709 pounds spent on the first car for repairs and imported furnishings and 300 pounds were allocated for each driver as a running account for emergency repairs. Representational expenses were run up to 108,000 pounds, including the purchase of hotel accommodations for the industry ministry and other senior officials at luxury hotels in Alexandria as company agents and the expenditure of 60,000 pounds worth of free samples or gifts, in addition to the manufacture of not-for-sale products to be presented as gifts to these officials such as frozen shrimp, which was stopped in the mid-seventies.

6. Indulgence of company agents at company expense. For example, the company exported 22,000 cartons of juice in February 1984 to its representative in Saudi Arabia at a price of $10 a carton or an overall value of about $250,000. This quantity was later recalled from Saudi Arabia in November 1985 shortly before the expiration date, to be replaced with a new batch. The company bore the expenses of export and recall to please the representative without considering the public interest and notwithstanding that this representative had dropped the agency prior to this generous offer.

7. Finally, the Edfina Canned Goods Company took part in a joint-venture investment company made up, on the foreign side, of a Dutch company, a Luxembourg company, and a Saudi financier who held 49 percent of the capital which amounted to 4.655 million pounds, and, on the Egyptian side, in addition to Edfina, the Qaha Canned Goods Company, and some Egyptians, made up of Mr. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahim 'Abd-al-Jawad, former president of Edfina for 16 years who retired before the age of 60 to devote full time to this project after bringing Edfina into it with 20 percent of the capital (931,000 pounds), thus becoming board chairman of the joint-venture company called "the Canal Fish Processing Company" which operates in the same field as Edfina and is a competitor.

The amount Edfina invested in the said company came from a bank overdraft at 12 percent interest rather than from a budget surplus, as originally planned, because the company runs a constant operating deficit and, in the last 4 years, has paid half a million pounds in overdraft interest!

Edfina president Engineer 'Ail al-Samaha replaced the company's former president as board member of the Canal Fish Processing Company by virtue of his position while the present president of Qaha did not make it to the board by virtue of his position following the transfer of Mr 'Abd-al-Hamid Sa'id from his position as president of Qaha Company to that of president of the food industries and he has retained his position as board member of the canal company. Meanwhile, Mr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahim 'Abd-al-Jawad was appointed as a Qaha Company consultant.

It is alleged that Engineer 'Adil al-Samaha hinders Edfina's production of fish in favor of the Canal Fish Processing Company and that Mr 'Abd-al-Hamid Sa'id, president of the food industries, covers up his mismanagement at Edfina. Edfina employees wonder how, since President Husni Mubarak announced in his speech at the opening of the People's Assembly session the need to replace the leaders of losing public-sector companies, the chairman of their company's board, who is responsible for a 6.5 million pound loss, can be rewarded with a trip to Brazil to represent Egypt at the conference for developing agricultural industrialization in developing countries, as reported in AL-MUSAWWAR on 13 December 1985? Is he above reproof because he represents a center of power by virtue of his position as assistant secretary of the NDP in Alexandria?

Egyptair President Retains Position; Accounting Office Controller's Employment Extended

Let us return once again to subjects of previous articles to remind the reader of the state of affairs in the office of management and planning in the Egyptair Corporation. This is disturbing to any Egyptian who cares about his country's interest and good use of public money and about the state of higher management in this important national corporation as uncovered by the recent hijacking which we will handle delicately because of national considerations.

We would like, however, to add, to what we have already mentioned, accounts about the chiefs of the labor sections in Egyptair which have a bearing on work performance. We have learned that the planning section chief was picked for this position even though he did not get an excellent rating in previous performance appraisal reports, thus passing over more senior and more qualified employees with higher performance ratings through performance report falsification which amounts to tampering, as charged by the court action filed in the Council of State's Administrate Court challenging his appointment by the corporation's economic advisor on grounds of nepotism since he is related by marriage to a former People's Assembly member. We have also learned that the chief of operations, pilot Mahmud Kamil, has been linked with several administrative and criminal violations in the investigations conducted by the General Administration of Airplane Accident Investigations in the Ministry of Aviation, but no legal action has been taken against him. Rather, the minister of civil aviation has covered up for him at the request of the company president, Engineer Rayyan, as we reported in a previous article, thus causing other violations of civil aviation bylaws from the standpoint of sending him to train pilots abroad without being qualified to do so and going on a flight--against air safety regulations--as part of the piloting staff on the airbus to London on 3 December 1985 and returning as pilot of the same aircraft, on which the wife of a high official was a passenger, thus exceeding the allowable number of flight hours and endangering the aircraft and its passengers. The competent administration in the Ministry of Aviation warned against such practices and demanded his removal of chief of operations because of his air safety violations.

As for the commercial section chief, he meddles in matters outside his jurisdiction, as we have reported, and covers up company misappropriations. Part of the laxity at Athens Airport is attributed to preferential treatment of Greek Egyptair employees there since his wife is Greek. The office director is Greek and so are the Egyptair aircraft security guards at Athens Airport. A case in point is what a passenger said in his letter to the editor of 5 December 1985 about these employees' carelessness in performing their security responsibilities in checking hand luggage before boarding. One of the strange gossip-provoking things is how this corporation, which has been beset with so many financial improprieties and questions about its higher management's responsibility for aircraft operation plans and existing flaws in its management, thus raising doubt and suspicion about its compliance with all safety regulations against hijacking and terrorism, can allow its president, Engineer Muhammad Fahim Rayyan, to intervene on behalf of accountant 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hasan Huraydi, director of the Aviation Audit Department of the Central Audit Agency. Haraydi, who reached retirement age last month, had his employment as Egyptair controller extended, notwithstanding the prime minister's announcement of not extending employment beyond the age of 60 and cabinet assurances in this regard, with certain exceptions related to hard-to-find skills which do not apply in this case since there is no shortage of qualified accountants in the Audit Agency and Egyptair has two other accountants with the rank of director general and a third one as auditor!

This endeavor by Egyptair's higher management is unacceptable and inconceivable in view of widespread talk about the period that accountant Huraydi spent in auditing Egyptair accounts, which amounts to 8 years, during which he traveled to Europe to audit Egyptair's offices there and to Jiddah with his family during the pilgrimage season. This has not prevented fiscal fraud in some offices in addition to the fact that it is not a customary practice to travel to offices whose accounts are audited abroad in this manner. It appears, however, that staying at the company's headquarters for such a long time tends to create a desire to please higher management which in turn becomes intent on keeping him employed past the retirement age. This is what prompts us to ask Dr 'Atif Sidqi, chief of the Central Audit Agency, not to allow agency auditors to stay at the offices they audit and not to keep them in one position for more than a specified period of time.

We will cite in future articles other examples of the power of corruption and perversion and will present the truth about the media cover-up campaign Egyptair has orchestrated to hide its management flaws and the facts about the Boeing-767 deal which some have dubbed as the '67 debadie.

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EMIGRATION MINISTER DISCUSSES EXPATRIATE WORKERS' ISSUES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 20 Dec 85 pp 56-57

[Interview with William Najib Sayfayn, minister of state for Emigration and Egyptians abroad, by 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Aql: "Minister of Emigration: There Is No Fear of Workers' Return"]

[Text] The issue of Egyptians working abroad is still the center of the Egyptian economic administration's interest because human resources are one of the most important economic resources. The economic administration takes the Egyptians working abroad into its consideration because they bring foreign currency with them. But by putting this issue under the magnifying glass, it becomes evident that numerous obstacles face the remittances of Egyptians working abroad and that part of their income goes to the black foreign currency exchange market.

On the other hand, the possibilities of renewed economic stagnation in the oil countries give the issue of those working abroad another dimension. Despite this, Engineer William Najib Sayfayn, the minister of emigration and of Egyptians abroad, clings to optimistic indicators, asserting that the policies and steps adopted by Prime Minister Dr 'Ali Lutfi's cabinet will increase the monies remitted by Egyptians abroad. The minister is preparing for a tour of four Arab countries as of the beginning of this month to meet with the Egyptian workers abroad.

AL-HAWADITH interviewed the minister of emigration on the issues of Egyptians working abroad, beginning with the following question:

[Question] What are the facilities offered by the Ministry of Emigration and of Egyptians Abroad, especially since the new cabinet has declared that it does not raise slogans but follows an unconventional method, meaning that there are new policies to attract the savings of Egyptians abroad?

[Answer] The letter of designation addressed to this cabinet has saddled it with numerous responsibilities and the cabinet has translated the later into its special method of action. Then came the president's speech inaugurating the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council under the title of the "great awakening"--a speech with a message addressed to the citizens working abroad in their capacity as partners in the march and in destiny. This appeal reminds them of what Egypt has done for them and, consequently, the mother appeals to her children to stay with her because only the arms of the Egyptians at home and abroad will build Egypt.

The Ministry of Emigration has formulated its plan which proceeds on the basis of and emanates from the pulse of the Egyptian street. This is why the priority of action has been given to constant contact throughout the 365 days of the year between the Ministry of Emigration and of Egyptians abroad with all the means of communication. We have set up two offices, one for receiving and answering the complaints of Egyptians abroad and the other to follow up on their suggestions. Moreover, we have taken other steps to bolster the confidence between the government and the Egyptians abroad. Prime Minister 'Ali Lutfi announced and I have announced after him the free circulation of money, whether in the form of deposits, investment projects, or re-transfers to the outside world. We have also opened a new channel by issuing the executive bylaws for the Federation of Egyptians Abroad. The branch federations are being now formed and then a permanent executive council will be formed for the Federation of Egyptians Abroad.

[Question] Has the new climate brought about in the past 2 months any progress in the investment of monies by those working abroad--progress with which it can be said that there has been a response to this climate?

[Answer] During this period, the Egyptians have shown a tangible interest in investment projects, some with a quick yield and some with long-range returns. For example, we had previously announced a project for the reclamation of lands for expatriates in an area of 6,000 feddans in al-Husayniyah plain, al-Sharqiyah Governorate, and in 6,000 more feddans in al-Buhayrah Governorate. The sums paid in the past 2 months amount to 90 percent the sums paid since announcement of the two projects more than 6 months ago (the price per feddan ranges from 800 pounds to 1,000 pounds).

The Egyptians have also shown interest in the housing and housing complexes activity. For example, the Egyptian workers in France applied for we have given them 60 feddans in the 6 October City to build 1,000 housing units, with the workers paying 40 pounds per square meter of the net construction area. The state is committed to supplying the construction materials. The Egyptians in Canada then applied for the allocation of an area of land for them to build 1,000 units and the application has been approved. They have also applied for the allocation of 3,000 feddans in al-Husayniyah plain on which to set up a food security project. The application is under study by the Ministry of Reconstruction. However, the approval in principle is there. Our sons in Qatar and Kuwait who have formed an association called the Sinai Agricultural Association have also applied for 5,000 feddans to set up a project in which solar energy is used in agriculture.

[Question] But the free circulation of money and the re-transfers of savings are guaranteed by the new cabinet. So what is new in this announcement?

[Answer] This announcement has come to bolster confidence. We want to hear it loud, even if it is in the hearts. This means giving the Egyptians abroad the guarantee.

[Question] What are the measures or policies of which you are thinking in connection with the currency exchange price to attract more of the savings of the Egyptians working abroad? It is well known that the black market price attracts most of these savings.

[Answer] To encourage workers abroad to pay in foreign currency, they have to be given benefits. We have said that whoever pays in foreign currency will have the priority of choice and priority of reservation insofar as manufactured goods are concerned. A third measure is still being studied by the Policies Committee (the minister did not reveal this measure but it is expected to be within the framework of a special price for the remittances of workers abroad).

[Question] You will go to Iraq, Kuwait, the Sultanate of Oman, and Jordan to meet with the Egyptians working there. Does the trip have other objectives? What new decisions concerning the Egyptian workers there will you be carrying?

[Answer] I do not anticipate the events. However, this trip has a number of objectives. There are economic feasibility studies in the industrial and agricultural spheres and in the sphere of housing projects. They will be presented to the Egyptians abroad. The trip also seeks to translate the president's speech inaugurating the People's Assembly's and the Consultative Council's sessions, speaking of the major awakening and appealing to our Egyptian sons abroad and to convert this message into a tangible reality. It further seeks to study the possibility of organizing fairs for distinguished Egyptian products in order to open the doors for their exports. The objectives further include familiarization with the people with scientific and practical experience in order to urge such people to contribute to the development inside the homeland through programs for the transfer of technological knowhow. The objectives also include familiarizing the Egyptians abroad with the most important national and pan-Arab issues and with the features of the development plans and exploring their opinions and suggestions for strengthening the relationship between them and the motherland. The trip is also intended for familiarization with workers' conditions in the expatriate countries by living with, discussing, and exerting efforts to solve their problems there.

[Question] What is your opinion of the statement that the harm done by the Egyptian labor abroad is more than its benefits by virtue of its planting in the homeland consumption patterns that have led to increasing prices, to intensifying the inflation waves, to nurturing the black foreign currency exchange market, and to dropping the cash remittances? Do you consider the likely return of the Egyptians from abroad a blessing or a curse?

[Answer] This statement is refuted. The consumption pattern is not established by the Egyptians abroad. Individual consumption has grown by a large degree insofar as numerous commodities are concerned, such as wheat, flour, rice, and corn. The number of Egyptians abroad is smaller than the number of Egyptians at home whose incomes have risen considerably, who follow extremely high consumption patterns, and who have no children abroad. As for the likely return of the workers, Egypt opens its arms to them because a large number of the returnees, if not all of them, are craftsmen and the national economy needs them.

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COLUMNIST QUESTIONS DECISIONMAKING PROCESS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Dec 85 pp 1,9

[Editorial by 'Adil Husayn: "On the Economy and Decisions in This Country"]

[Text] Watchers of economic debates note that economic discussions become animated two times a year: in June and near the end of the year. Debates and proposals that come to our attention during these two seasons are a reflection on the mission of the IMF inspection team. This team comes in June to set fiscal and monetary policies before drawing up the budget, then in December for the semiannual follow-up.

Often this team carries with it some disturbing things. This is one reason why the beginning date of the fiscal year has been changed. The so-called measures and corrections usually occur before the beginning of the fiscal year. The January 1977 events proved that this month is dangerous and unsuitable to be the beginning of the fiscal year because political activity is high at this time. That is why the beginning of the fiscal year has been changed to July and the semiannual follow-up to January.

At any rate, debates have become repetitious to the point of boredom. All economists of various orientations agree that the economic situation is grave and getting worse. When President Mubarak held a conference for economists when he first assumed power, not one of them disagreed on this point. They all now feel that the situation is not being treated seriously and is indeed deteriorating.

During each season national economists submit proposals and recommendations for solving these problems and facing what have become widely known as IMF guidelines. It has been noted that in every round of debate, a number of economists abandon the collective view and their previous positions to defend IMF guidelines for the sake of what they call correcting the economic course. Often the economic ministers are selected from this team.

Sometimes people in ministerial positions find out through experience that things are more serious than they had imagined and that implementation of IMF guidelines is in total conflict with the interests of the national economy. They begin voicing their concerns, thus embarking on their journey out of the cabinet. At any rate, this species has become rare indeed and most of those who leave the cabinet go to work for banks or the like, thus preferring to remain silent to protect their own interests.

Nevertheless, Egypt has not turned sterile. New and old generations of national economists have clear, unalterable positions and all those who are inhibited by self-interest from telling the truth openly declare that IMF directives have led to Egypt's ruin and are causing further deterioration.

These days we are witnessing the traditional debates of the end-of-the-year season. We are hearing the same proposals and, since policies have not changed, the same familiar scenario. With our lasting inability to deal with the outside world and the perennial budget deficit, the pound has fallen at home and abroad, thus prompting the IMF to ask us to recognize the fait accompli and devalue the pound further against the dollar (on the grounds that the Egyptian pound is based on the dollar). And since our government always turns down options presented by national economists, the only choice it has is to accept IMF guidelines which promise easy-term loans in return for our compliance.

The next scene is a dialogue about the possible step-by-step implementation of IMF guidelines, which necessarily means a significant jump in prices to be borne by the poor so as not to scare away investors!

We are now living through the step-by-step phase they have quietly worked out with the IMF. We have sensed it from reports about airplane tickets for this is the door to the devaluation of the pound. Implementation begins with the simpler side first, then moves on to the basic food commodity imports. When the prices of these imports are calculated on the inflated dollar (or the deflated pound) it is immediately claimed that selling bread to consumers at the current price means higher government subsidies and, therefore, bread prices must be raised.

Thus, we are headed for a general increase in prices which is starting to be felt even from the standpoint of political stability. Our economic misforturnes were not preordained. God in the last few years has given us rare economic opportunities to prosper, but we have wasted them all due to our submission to foreign guidelines and political interest groups who are ready to sell out the entire country when national interests conflict with theirs. We are not against legitimate wealth, but the key to lawful gain is not to earn an income by becoming a slave to the enemy of one's religion and country.

The opportunity to prosper has not yet slipped away, but when will we listen to those Egyptians who have distanced themselves from dubious interests and relationships?

This questions leads to a greater question: How are decisions made and policies set in our country? This question has troubled us for years. We used to think that policy-makers were not interested in obtaining adequate information about the subjects of their policies or in grasping and analyzing such information properly. We also used to think that the strategic decision-making circle was wider than necessary and possible and that those inducted into the process were not the competent in this field.

I think we are still of the same opinion, to which I add that we suffer from a lack of determination to enforce our decisions out of deference to those who stand to be hurt by them, notwithstanding that their opposition is supposed to be known and reckoned in advance.

I say this while thinking about the Haykal affair. AL-SHA'B said last Tuesday morning: "This is the most serious political decision." This is a wrong evaluation because the most serious decision was the decision issued on the eve of the same day (Tuesday) rescinding the first decision.

I have not strayed from my original economic discussion because the thing that interests me in the Haykal decision, in this context, is the way decisions are made and resolutely implemented. This is the general rule of politics, regardless of the content of the specific decision and of our support for or opposition to it. Something similar to the Haykal affair happened to the January economic decisions which melted away as soon as they were issued, leaving their author (Mustafa al-Sa'id) to stand alone without any support. The same thing is facing Ibrahim Sa'dah in the Haykal affair. Sa'dah was one of those who defamed his predecessor al-Sa'id without mercy!

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CASE FOR ISLAMIC EGYPT DEFENDED

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 17 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Fahmi Huwaydi: "Islamic Egypt, Without Sensitivity"]

[Text] One of the most surprising and astonishing things is this dialogue which surfaces from time to time on Egypt's affiliation. It seems that the parties to this dialogue have not yet succeeded in giving us a satisfactory and convincing answer to the big and difficult question: Who are we?

The latest we have read in this respect is an opinion saying that Egypt is a country with multiple affiliations, that the Egyptian identity is a mixture of the Pharaonic, Roman, Greek, Coptic, and Islamic civilizations, that reconciling these affiliations depends on how intelligent we are, that those who do not have such intelligence are proven guilty of the charge of having a single affiliation, and that such people often end up falling into the abyss of fanaticism and radicalism (see AL-AHRAM of Thursday, 12 Dec).

Considering that I am one of those who say that Egypt has a single Islamic affiliation, then perhaps it is necessary to point out that this means, on the other hand, that I am one of those who have failed the projected intelligence test. This is not such a disgraceful thing, considering that God gives intelligence to whomever He wishes. But what concerns and worries me in the matter is the statement that those who embrace the position I have chosen are classified as fanatics and radicals.

By virtue of the fact that I consider myself as far as possible from fanaticism and radicalism--and I do have a modest number of works that decisively support what I claim--it is necessary to clarify matters in order to refute the charge, eliminate the suspicion, and vindicate one's self.

Civilizational Islam

To begin, we must agree on the objective and on whether it is to read history or to read the current reality. If we are talking about reading history and reviewing its events, when this is a context over which there is no fundamental disagreement. But if we are talking about the current reality in contemporary Egypt, then this is the starting point of disagreement.

When we speak of Egypt's Islamic affiliation, we insist on drawing attention to the fact that Islam is not just a religion and that with the passage of 14 centuries since its onset, it has also become a civilization and a culture. If the Muslims have sought the shade of the religious Islam, then the civilizational and cultural Islam has been throughout history a vessel and an umbrella for the followers of the other divine religions, even the followers of the religions considered paganistic, such as Mazdaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. All their adherents, especially the Christians and the Jews, have made their undeniable contributions to Islam's civilizational march.

We do not understand this sensitivity that has risen among some of our contemporary intellectuals to the mention of the work "Islam." These intellectuals believe that this word is inevitably aimed against the others. Some interpret the Islamic affiliation as an affiliation that of necessity comes at the expense of Arabism and Egyptianism and they interpret the call to Islam as a call that poses a threat to national unity and the application of the Shari'a as something that by necessity comes at the expense of the non-Muslims.

We do not understand this insistence on reading Islam with the logic of intersecting with other religions and not with the logic of moving parallel to and in compassion and continuity with the others. If this reading relies on the opinions of some jurisprudents, then our response is that these opinions, limited as they are, constitute no argument against us or against Islam. The only thing that can be used as an argument are the provisions of the Koran and the Sunna--and I emphasize this--which declare that all people are created of the same breath, which elevate man's standing, and which consider him God's honored and chosen creature, regardless of his religion, color, or race. These are the provisions that urge Muslims to be "benevolent to the other," even if they are infidels, as long as they do not antagonize or fight the Muslims. The benevolence to which the Koran refers in this context is the same benevolence it describes in the desirable relationship between children and parents in the same family.

Even within the framework of the jurisprudents' opinions, any vigilant and fair reading of these opinions must inevitable discover this broad concept of the word "Islam" and discover Islam's view of all kinds of people, with their various creeds and colors. Listen to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib instructing and advising his governor of Egypt: People are of two kinds--either a brother in religion or an equal in creation. And listen to Imam Abu Hanifah say in his treatise "The Scholar and the STudent" that God's religion is one but that the canonical laws are different. Abu Hanifah also said, that God, may He be praised, "sent His messenger out of compassion so that he may unite the divided and may enhance harmony. He did not send him to divide the word and to incite some people against others."

House for All

The "house of Islam," to use the common jurisprudential phrase, is not confined to Muslins alone. It is for Muslims and for others. The criterion for the use of this phrase is not the adoption or non-adoption of Islam, according to the Hanafi, Zaydi and, most contemporary jurisprudents. The criterion is the achievement of safety for the Muslims. One jurisprudent has gone as far as saying: "If the Islamic rites, or most of them, are performed, then the country is a house of Islam even if it is dominated by an infidel ruler." The prominent "Abd-al-Wahhab Khallaf said: "The subject of disagreement in considering the house of Islam is security or fear." Dr Subhi Mahasani, another prominent researcher, said: "Discriminating against people in the Islamic state on the basis of religion is an act of 'ignorance and deception.'"

If this sensitivity emanates from reactions to the calls issuing from some enthusiastic or fanatic youth--calls reiterating on some occasions or in some gatherings the words "Islamic, Islamic"--then we say that excessive and unenlightened enthusiasm is something against which sensible Muslims complain before others. Wisdom dictates that the response be: Let it be Islamic with the conditions and course of Islam and not with the whims, intolerance, and narrowmindedness of the vociferous.

History's Testimony

If this sensitivity emanates from recollecting some historical events and evidence, then we beg that history be read with honesty and without bias, unfairness, or partiality. Such a reading must inevitably show us the following:

First, the first document written in the history of Islam--a document written by the Prophet while he was laying the foundations of Islamic society in Medina and known by the name of al-Sahifah--contains a paragraph which considers the Jews and the Muslims a "single nation." The Jews were thus treated as citizens, not as foreign subjects or second-class subjects, in the newborn Islamic state.

Second, Islam is credited with protecting all the divine and non-divine religions in the countries it conquered. Because of this protection, these religions have been destined to survive and flourish throughout the past centuries. The Islamic state could have done what the Christian regimes did in Europe, uprooting Islam from the continent--from Andalusia, Southern France, Italy, and Sicily--and using for this purpose the weapons of expulsion, murder, and coerced conversion to Christianity. There are among the researchers even those who say that Islam is responsible for the continued presence of the minorities problem in the Arab world.

Third, throughout the eras of the Islamic state, non-Muslims remained, as a rule, citizens enjoying our rights and shouldering our duties, as it has been truly said. Under the rule of Caliph Harun al-Rashid, the schools were under the supervision of Yuhanna ibn Masawayh, a Christian, and the universities of Cordoba and Granada were in the hands of Jews primarily. When Baghdad was destroyed in the 4th century of the Hegira, it was Nasr ibn Harun, a Christian and a minister of Caliph 'Udud al-Dawlah ibn Buwayh [presumably Babuwayh], who rebuilt it. History books abound with pages that tell how non-Muslims exercised the rights of citizenship in the House of Islam.

Fourth, Islamic society never knew in its history descriptions such as "minorities" and "religious communities" until the decline of the Ottoman State --in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Western countries were the ones that coined such descriptions and used them as a pretext for intervention on the grounds of protecting these minorities and defending their interests.

Fifth, under the canopy of Islamic Egypt, the Coptic language continued to be in use in Egypt for 350 years after the conquest, according to prominent German researcher Adam (Metz). Prior to the British occupation of Egypt, a British envoy wrote to Palmerston, his country's foreign minister, in 1837 saying that Egypt's Copts do not mix with foreigners like the Muslims, that their women are veiled, that it was difficult to make a distinction between Copts and Muslims in the cities and in the countryside, that all cooperated in building mosques and churches and shared in celebrating certain religious occasions and in visiting certain holy tombs, that Muslims learned in Coptic schools and Copts in Awqaf schools, and that some Copts enrolled in al-Azhar to study logic, and linguistic and legalistic sciences. In his book "Muslims and Copts Within the Framework of the National Group," Tariq al-Bishri draws up a detailed picture of such bright pages of the Egyptian history.

Addressing 1 Billion Muslims

Islamic Egypt negates neither Arab Egypt nor Egyptian Egypt but rather incorporates both and goes beyond whereas the opposite is not true. The influence, actually the vital sphere, of Islamic Egypt extends from Indonesia to the heart of the African continent. Islamic Egypt addresses 1 billion people over this vast area. I saw them in an Indonesian island in the middle of the Indian Ocean performing the prayers for the departed when Lieutenant General 'Abd-al-Mun'im Riyad was martyred on the canal front in March 1969. They then came to convey their condolences to us, with grief gripping the island. The number of Pakistanis who volunteered to defend Egypt in the wake of the 1967 aggression amounted to 1 million people. Those who have had the opportunity to visit the East African or West African countries or any of the Islamic Asian countries know better than others the impact and weight of the word of al-Azhar's Egypt on these areas.

Islamic Egypt is the imam of all and, with the testimony of all, has a bigger dimension, a more effective word, and a role that has to be taken into careful consideration.

Egypt could not perform this role without its Arab affiliation and its civilizational weight which it derives from its deep-rooted Egyptianism, not to mention its unique position in communications between East and West.

I may even go further to say that Islamic Egypt is more entrenched in the Arab world with its population of a little over 100 million people. This is because the statistics show that the racial minorities--i.e., the non-Arab Muslims, led by the Berbers and the Kurds--are twice the number of religious minorities, comprised of Christians and Jews, in the Arab world. This is what Dr Jamal Hamdan draws our attention to in his book on the Islamic world, saying that "the ratio of Islam in the Arab world is higher than the ratio of Arabism.

Those who have been in close contact with the Algerian and Moroccan reality are aware of the sensitivity of many Algerians and Moroccans to the word 'Arabism' and of their absolute preference for the Islamic affiliation."

Arab Egypt is less significant than Islamic Egypt. A Pharaonic Egypt--I don't know what form it takes or whether it contains anything that can be revived--becomes insignificant and may perhaps turn into something showing up in history's museums, such as the American Indians or the Mayan people!

Futile Question

There are futile questions raised by some people in this regard, also on the basis of clinging to the course of intersection and opposition and not of parallelism and continuity. For example, there is the question that asks: Who is closer to the Muslim Egyptian, the Muslim Indian or the Christian Egyptian? This is the kind of rhetorical question that reminds us of the dual between the sword and the pen or the race between a car and a plane with which we were occupied as elementary school children.

The fact is that the issue is not so simple or superficial. Relations between people in Egypt or India are not built on the basis of love or hatred. Moreover, it is impossible to separate such a question from its political, economic, and social context which ultimately produces and shapes the position. Moreover, a Muslim Egyptian's empathy for an Indian does not necessarily mean that this empathy comes at the expense of the Egyptian Christian. It is unfair to phrase the question in a manner that opposes either this or that.

In our modern history, President 'Abd-al-Nasir supported India in its war against Pakistan in the 1960's and this support did not mean that the Muslim Egypt stood with the Hindus against the Muslim Pakistan. It was a matter of purely political considerations and religion was not involved in it.

It has been proven that when Britain entered the war against the Ottoman Caliphate in Turkey at a time when India was still a part of the British crown, the situation angered India's Muslims who considered their country, which was tied to England, a house of war. Several thousand Muslim Indians thus emigrated to Afghanistan.

Moreover, to counter the Turkish oppression which peaked in the 19th century, the Arab world, both its Muslims and Christians, confronted the caliphate and its practices. The option available was not religious but was rather tied to the question of tyranny or justice.

If we may carry the matter further, we may even say as a result of our historical experience that this question should not be posed as much to the Islamic side as to the Christian side. The Arab world has never been subjected to an Islamic invasion. Its invaders have been either pagans (the Tatars before they embraced Islam) or Christians (the Crusaders, the French invaders, and then the British invaders). In every invasion, the positions of the non-Muslims ranged from aiding the invader to fighting him, as in both Syria and Egypt. However, the position of the Egyptian Coptic Church has always been honorable and above any suspicion.

Islamic Egypt is a reality in which there is no fabrication and no falsehood. If Egypt's reality is as complex as some people wish to stress, then in the final analysis this complexity flows into the same vessel. If some people don't like water for one reason or another, their disliking it does not change the fact that water consists of oxygen and hydrogen. If we accept the characterization of the Soviet Union as a communist state, even though Communist Party membership does not exceed 5 million and even though communism there is about 75 years old--which also applies to China where communism is not 40 years old yet--then I don't understand why we are reluctant to give Egypt the characterization of Islamic, even though Egypt has been in the bosom of Islam for 14 centuries and even though Muslims constitute 90 percent of its population, at least!

Yes, Egypt's Islamic face is emaciated, pale, and tired. But this is another matter. One's loss of his health may change one's complexion and looks. But such a loss does not under any circumstances change one's skin or name.

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BROTHERHOOD'S AL-TALMASANI DISCUSSES KHATIR CASE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 17 Dec 85 p 10

[Commentary by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "I Wish We Were All Sulayman Khatir"]

[Text] What crime did he commit? Who agreed to interrogate him and who agreed to file a public lawsuit? What kind of court will try him? All these questions are being asked by people from Alexandria to Aswan and all are in dire need of an official statement to explain the facts.

It has been said that he was one of the brave Egyptian soldiers along the borders between us and our friend with whom we have entered into an alliance through the Camp David Accords and who has adopted a despicable position toward us, interpreting this accord, which we have denounced, to its own advantage.

It has also been said that some Jewish soldiers on the other side of Taba provoked and made fun of him and their impudence and defiance went so far as to spit at the Egyptian flag, the symbol of our dignity, so his zeal and sense of honor drove him to fire at those wanton individuals, killing some of them.

Had he not done that, he would have been a criminal liable to court martial for failing to fulfill his duty. What does any human being in the world think of a man who witnessed his country's flag being spit on by his country's enemies? I am utterly perplexed why Sulayman Khatir should be brought to trial as a punishment for his patriotic ardor and because he wanted to teach a harsh lesson to anyone who contemplates such a loathsome deed.

We have said repeatedly that the rulers of this Islamic region must give their people the freedom to deal with those who assail the country's dignity. People are capable of feeding bullets to their adversaries to silence them and put a stop to their immoral and unlawful actions.

I had thought that Sulayman Khatir's behavior, in support of the Egyptian side in its negotiations with Israel--because the Egyptians had to explain such behavior as being motivated by pent-up feelings toward Israel's position on the Palestinian question and its aggression against the Golan Heights, southern Lebanon, the West Bank, and Gaza--was a clear indication of the kind of resentment seething in Egyptian hearts against Israel's disdain of all human laws and morality. Respect for Egyptian public opinion decrees that this man be honored instead of incriminated.

I do not want Sulayman Khatir to be acquitted on the grounds of conflicting testimony or temporary insanity. Such allegations take away from the nobility of such a momentous action undertaken by an honorable citizen. This is a position I wish every Egyptian will embrace toward Israel. Israel's actions in this entire region are the epitome of disgrace and ignominy for peoples who witness such contempt and tolerate it, to the point of prosecuting and judging an Egyptian who dared take such a manly stand.

Have things between us and Israel reached the point of punishing zealous citizens intent on protecting the country's dignity? What is the price? What is the benefit?

I suggested that no lawyer represent Sulayman Khatir in court and that his fate be left to his judges for they are no less eager than anyone else to safeguard their country's dignity. What Sulayman did was an act of fair and legitimate defense and Egypt's judges are fair and conservative people.

The court may appoint a public defender for Sulayman Khatir in compliance with criminal procedure. He must refuse and accept whatever punishment may be inflicted on him, for it is more honorable than defending an action which had to be undertaken one way or another. Prosecution of this man will have an adverse effect on the people's thoughts, feelings, and actions as well as on their willingness to support their country in any situation requiring this kind of of behavior.

I am not a zealot or a fanatic but rather an Egyptian Muslim who says what his religion and, indeed, his patriotism dictate to him. Egypt accepted Camp David reluctantly and silently. The result was, as we have seen, that Israel devoted its efforts to confront the Islamic countries.

Being confident of the Islamic country's stance, Israel embarked on its confrontation with us in realization of its designs on our land, hence its stand on Taba.

All of Egypt's feelings and hearts are with Sulayman Khatir and are dissatisfied with all measures that have been taken against him. We trust in God and have confidence in His justice. God is supreme.

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COLUMNIST ANALYZES HASANAYN HAYKAL CONTROVERSY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Dec 85 p 5

[Commentary by Hasan Nafi'ah: "Who's Afraid of Hasanayn Haykal?"]

[Text] No sooner had AKHBAR AL-YAWM newspaper announced its sudden decision to invite Mr Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal to write for it regularly and Haykal's acceptance of this proposition than the country began humming and buzzing with questions and inquiries, discussions and analyzes, and assessments and anticipations. This humming soon turned to a roar which gradually assumed the form of a political battle still raging under the truly disturbed roof of political life.

The matter did not stop at such humming or even roaring. The sides who consider themselves parties to this battle did not wait to see what Mr Haykal was going to write before voicing their support or opposition or expressing their delight or disapproval. Rather, some influential news, political, and economic media moved frantically to prevent Mr. Haykal from writing for AKHBAR AL-YAWM in particular and perhaps for the national press in general. These circles concentrated their attention on AKHBAR AL-YAWM, allegedly to the point of going beyond threats to withdraw their ads from it to actually cancelling some advertising contracts. The circle of pressure grew wider and more organized and began going after the highest decision-making centers in Egypt, warning against the consequences of allowing Haykal to write in "national newspapers": capital is timid and the dollar is in a feverish state and Haykal's writing will surely create a gripping atmosphere that is bound to encourage timid capital to flee and to raise the temperature of the dollar even higher!

An editorial by Mr Makram Muhammad Ahmad in the last issue of AL-MUSAWWAR underscored the existence of such pressures and indirectly revealed the fact that these pressures have so far succeeded in stopping or freezing the deal between Mr Haykal and AKHBAR AL-YAWM. Mr Makram said that this deal was still beset with differences which might cause its postponement for a while. Does this mean that the deal between Mr Haykal and AKHBAR AL-YAWM is not final? And does it make sense for the company to risk publishing such significant news with such promotional fanfare before finalizing the deal? Absurd. The reader is not as gullible as some famous writers seem to imagine!

This explanation of ours is decisively underscored by the fact that the main thrust of Mr Makram's article was to reassure the circles opposing Mr Haykal's return to writing, even though their assurances assumed the form of skillfully and cleverly defending Mr Haykal's right to write. Mr Makram reminded these circles that Mr Haykal supported the late President al-Sadat in his crucial steps that took him to Jerusalem even though he had opposed the visit and the agreements during al-Sadat era. He also called attention to the fact that Haykal did not demand the abrogation of these agreements in the Mubarak era, describing anyone making such a demand as insane. At the same time, Mr Makram emphasized that Haykal was not a partisan of the class struggle school and was the first one to defend the possibility of neutralizing the United States in the Arab-Israeli conflict, etc.

Indeed, I was flabbergasted by Mr Makram Muhammad Ahmad's editorial for I had not imagined that things in Egypt has deteriorated so. True, I was among the first to write about the "regime's predicament in Egypt," but I never imagined the situation to be so bad as to compel Mr Makram to dress Haykal in a garb acceptable to the economic opendoor and the American-Israeli settlement brokers. It would have been more appropriate for Mr Makram to defend his mentor's right in principle to write regularly in a "national" newspaper, regardless of his past, present, or future political tendencies and positions. But I do not blame Mr Makram as much as I direct my exasperation at the circumstances that have led to this rotten climate. The only significance in this state of affairs is that some business and financial circles have dominated the political decision-making process in Egypt to such a degree that it is enough for them to "cough" or to frown to send tremors through the decision-making centers in Egypt without any objective discussion of the validity or soundness of their objectives.

The issue is not what Haykal said in the sixties or seventies or what he may say in the eighties.

Neither is it a question that Haykal was the all-time favorite of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the sometime favorite of al-Sadat, for most of his detractors have themselves tried to be the regime's favorite and some of them have attempted that with all regimes at all times.

It was strange to base these scare tactics on the allegation that Haykal's return heralds intrinsic shifts in political tendencies. If this were true, Mubarak would have been satisfied with seeking Haykal's counsel without the need for his writings. And if the purpose were to promote certain resolutions about to be issued and to marshal strong public support for them, it would mean that Haykal is the only current new media leader able to influence public opinion. This is a credit to him because it leads to the following logical question: How can I deprive public opinion of a coveted writer? And in whose interest? It would also mean that the intent is to waylay any effort by President Mubarak to effect changes in his current policies, thus making him the real target of these pressures. Placing the issue at this level is an injustice to the president and to Haykal himself as well as to some of our leading journalists who are loved and respected by the Arab and Egyptian publics and, indeed, is an injustice to Egyptian public opinion itself.

Mr Muhammad Haykal is first and foremost a writer whose real arena is the press and his weapon is the word. Those who want to fight him must go into his arena and must accept the readers' judgment of him and them, instead of stabbing him in the back, scaring the president about him and about the economic damage his return to writing will inevitably cause, and blaming him in advance for all future catastrophes. This is not a defense of Mr Haykal.

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ISMAILIA'S VIRTUES EXTOLLED

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 17 Dec 85 p 16

[Editorial by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] There is a malady called Cairo. When this malady intensifies, it becomes Greater Cairo, which stifles us and which we stifle.

I packed up to spend 2 days in a place with clean air and little soil, chemical, noise, and visual pollution. My companion on the trip told me that the closest place is Ismailia.

There is no doubt that Ismailia is one of the country's prettiest cities at present. Its location on the canal's lakes gives it the refreshing sea climate, without Alexandria's air pollution and overcrowding, which rival Cairo's overcrowding and noise. Ismailia is the only Egyptian city with an abundant share of public parks and, consequently, quiet. Imagine that you can stroll on streets surrounded by parks and free of traffic noise, of ugly advertisements, of overcrowding, and of the noise of car horns. Imagine that you can do this in an Egyptian city!

We stayed at the pretty Itab Hotel on the canal bank. It is a young hotel and all those working in it are young men and women. It is also a small hotel. I hate big hotels which make you feel that they are independent cities or overcrowded airports, as you feel at the Hiltons and the Sheratons, which fill all five continents. I prefer a hotel with an atmosphere close to the atmosphere at home. Big hotels are for businessmen and small hotels are for rest and recreation and for taking a breather.

There is no doubt that Ismailia is growing and that its population is increasing, like the other parts of the country. I have not met a city official to find out the details. However, I hope that the city's growth will not come at the expense of the city's special atmosphere.

On the broad highway from Cairo to Ismailia, the trip by car takes 1 hour whereas it took me 1.5 hours to get from my home in al-Duqqi to the far end of Heliopolis. I have calculated the distance between the last apartment building in Cairo and the first building in the 10 Ramadan City and found that it amounts to only 34 km.

On the way back and after crossing Cairo in 1.5 hours in the middle of the day, one feels the same as when he left, with the noise, the overcrowding, and the dust erasing all traces of Ismailia's public parks.

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POLITICAL FUTURE ANTICIPATED FOR BINYAMIN BEGIN

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 24 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Sarah Honig]

[Text] TEL AVIV. – The consensus in Herut yesterday was that Dr. Ze'ev Binyamin Begin's television appearance Wednesday night constituted the former prime minister's son's plunge into the cold water of politics. This despite the younger Begin's own denial of immediate political ambitions.

Begin's father, *The Jerusalem Post* was told, was very happy about his son's appearance. He told a visitor to his Yafeh Nof home in Jerusalem that he thought his son came across well and answered the questions put to him adroitly and excellently.

The view that the TV appearance was a first political step is shared not only by Herut activists who yearn to see the Begin name given top billing again, but also by close friends of the family.

The latter told *The Post* yesterday that Dr. Begin, a geologist, has long been vacillating about entering the political arena. The fact that he agreed to be interviewed on the Moked programme cannot be accidental, it is claimed.

Begin's son was very stubborn when he had his mind set against politics and against public exposure, and he flatly refused any overtures from the press. The fact that he suddenly agreed to be featured on TV's leading interview programme indicates that he must have had some further objective in view.

He aimed some sardonic barbs at Ariel Sharon. But for that he need not have exposed himself to other probing questions, say Begin's close acquaintances. They explain the appearance as resulting from a bite of the political bug. The scheduling of the interview, moreover, comes close upon the heels of his decision to run as a delegate to the upcoming Herut convention, it is pointed out.

The Begin interview was practically the sole topic of conversation in Herut headquarters at Metzudat Ze'ev yesterday. There was great excitement throughout the party. Various party branches are expected to start inviting Begin to address their members, and he is sure to pack the auditoriums. Making the rounds of the branches is not "dirty politics," of which Begin may be wary, and it will fix him firmly at the top of the party hierarchy, the activists said.

Next, Begin will be waiting for an appeal from the party to lead it, which will come sooner or later, and he will yield to the "demand of the rank and file" according to the popular Herut scenario.

But Menachem Begin's son is not as immune from criticism as his father, and there could be some critical voices.

Most unhappy about his TV debut were members of the Sharon camp, who criticized him for "speaking down to people" and not wanting to dirty his hands with daily party activities. If he wants to try out for the party leadership, he will be welcome, but he will have to run the same course as every young member, with no special privileges because of his name, *The Post* was told.

The Sharon followers were hurt most by Begin's clear anti-Sharon sarcasm when he belittled the Sharon camp in the party, and spoke about those who joined it after the Likud's electoral victory in 1977. Sharon himself, however, was careful not to comment.

Another note of displeasure was sounded by MK Dov Shilansky, who, though he professed to "love Benny from the time he was a child," said he would not have replied as Begin had to questions about the Temple Mount and the Jewish underground. Begin urged caution and restraint about the Temple Mount, and said he saw the members of the Jewish underground as criminals who should be punished like any other criminals.

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ANTIRACISM BILL CAUSES CONTROVERSY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Asher Wallfish]

[Text] Knesset Law Committee chairman Eli Kulas said yesterday that the efforts of Michael Eytan, of the Likud's Herut wing, to slow down the passage of legislation curbing racism, were "causing the Likud tremendous damage and tarring us all with a racist brush."

Kulas and Eytan had a big row over the preparation of Penal Code Amendment No. 24 on incitement to racism which the committee is preparing for its second and third readings.

Eytan sought, unsuccessfully, to reopen committee discussion on the legislation and to alter its wording in a way that Kulas said had watered it down and made it ineffective.

Committee members representing Shas, the National Religious Party and the Likud (except for Kulas who belongs to its Liberal wing) supported Eytan's proposal to narrow the amendment's definition of "racism" and to apply the prohibition on publication of racist incitement to statements which have already been shown to have caused racist effects.

Because the committee was tied seven to seven on Eytan's proposals, which Kulas described to *The Jerusalem Post* as "crazy notions," Eytan publicly accused Kulas of "turning the Likud into a figure of contempt."

Eytan said Kulas was "a traitor" and "a deserter" because he had promised him (Eytan) that morning to abstain when Eytan raised his proposals to reword two paragraphs of the amendment.

Kulas denied making any such promise. He told *The Post*: "All I told him was that if I saw he had a clear majority for his proposals anyway, then I would abstain. He had no right to tell his colleagues that they could count on my vote."

Kulas said that during the eight months that the amendment had been in the committee, less than half the members had come to meetings and then only briefly.

"Justice Ministry officials were astounded and often offended at the way members would pop in, ask a question, and then rush out before they got the answer. Nor did the members care what their colleagues asked and what the answers were. My committee has a disgraceful record," Kulas said.

Kulas said he had wanted a much stiffer law against racism but had had to make do with half-measures. "The amendment will not proscribe racism or even incitement to racism; it will merely prohibit publication of incitement to racism."

He said: "The amendment does not tackle the thorny problem of discrimination. That means you can refuse to sell your flat to somebody because of his race or faith, and get away with it. Your problem will only begin if you take a loudspeaker and incite others not to sell their flats."

Kulas said: "The law does not empower the police to ban a public meeting that they believe will incite to racism. I asked Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev if the favoured this provision, and I never heard an answer from him."

Kulas said that the maximum penalty for publication of incitement to racism was five years imprisonment. He said his original proposal had been a two-year penalty, but he had changed his mind after reading a paper by Haifa District Court Judge Micha Lindenstrauss.

Kulas said that one result of increasing the maximum penalty would be that cases could only be tried in the district court rather than the magistrates court.

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ADVANTAGES OF PHANTOM PRAISED

Tel Aviv BAMAHANE in Hebrew No 20, 15 Jan 86 p 7

[Text] "The Phantom planes that Israel has can become the best in the world for attacking ground targets, after they have been restored and improved." This was stated to BAMAHANE by a senior Air Force command officer, Colonel S. "The Air Force commander has assigned top priority to the 'Phantom 2000' project, which will not be affected by cuts. The first two prototypes of the improved airplanes are already scheduled to fly in 1986-87."

The Phantom is a multipurpose aircraft used for both interception and ground attack. The aircraft was first manufactured in the United States at the beginning of the 1960's by McDonnell-Douglas, and it has been used in Israel since 1970. In view of its excellent performance, its high operational potential, and its great contribution to Israel's air actions, the Air Force last year decided to begin restoring the plane under the project "Phantom 2000," with a view to adapting the aging aircraft to the requirements of the 1990's and "prolonging its life" into the year 2000.

"The estimated cost of the project has been examined, and has been found to rise into millions of dollars," says Colonel S. "Nevertheless, it is less expensive by several hundred percent than purchasing new F-15's or F-16's." The Air Force commander has assigned the project a high budget and operational priority, and the monetary allocation has been consolidated under a multi-year plan, so that the project will not be affected almost at all by the Air Force cuts."

The final objective of the improvements is, according to Colonel S., to produce the best ground target attack airplane in the world. Unlike the customary practice, the Air Force is this time the main contractor, and its engineers are responsible for designing the improvements and supervising the work. "This is because of the budget cuts and because of the work, since it is the Air Force, and not any other body, that is most familiar with the Phantom." The work itself will be carried out by the Aircraft Industry and some eight other Israeli and U.S. enterprises, which will serve as subcontractors under the supervision of the Air Force. The U.S. Administration is aware of all the details of the development project.

"Work is now in progress on two prototypes which are expected to fly toward the end of the coming year. The improvements are of two types: maintenance and logistics improvements, which are mainly designed to strengthen and improve the plane, so that the parts will be more stable and incur less wear and tear; and weaponry improvements. One of the areas that has been improved affects the plane's electrical wires, the total length of which comes to tens of kilometers and which become rapidly eroded.

"After the completion of test flights on the improved plane, the last changes will be built in, and the aircraft will be put into production. The project is expected to be completed by the beginning of the 1990's."

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FURTHER SETTLEMENT IN GOLAN HEIGHTS HALTED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 31 Dec 85 p 12

[Text] At the recommendation of IDF Northern Command officers, the defense minister has decided not to authorize the establishment of additional settlements in the Golan Heights because of the need of IDF units for combat training fields.

After the IDF pulled out of Lebanon, the Golan Heights was reinforced with additional troops, and recently there have been situations in which settlements had to be closed down for hours on end while IDF units were training with live ammunition. There have also been some cases of near accidents.

The leaders of the Golan settlements say that "the foreign minister's decision is a tough one, with serious implications for the long term." However, they added that they fully accept the minister's explanations. Eytan Lys, chairman of the Golan Regional Council, said: "Undoubtedly, we wanted to establish new settlements, but it is clear to us that, at a time when the area is militarily sensitive, when fire ranges are increasing, the army needs space for deployment and training. I hope that a way will be found to ensure rapid development of the existing settlements."

The defense minister stated that he is in favor of the rapid development of the Golan settlements and regrets that other areas were given priority in the past because of political considerations. Shim'on Shavas, the defense minister's aide for settlement affairs, stressed that the Golan settlements will soon be included within a preferred budget for settlements located on the hostilities line. The defense system has assigned special preference to the Golan settlements. There have been no layoffs at the Golan defense enterprises and orders and work have been channeled to them.

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JOINT RESEARCH WITH GERMANY ESTABLISHED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Judy Siegel]

[Text] The establishment of a West Germany-Israel scientific research foundation, with tens of millions of dollars contributed by the two countries, is due to be announced in Bonn today by Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Peres and Kohl will announce the amount forming the principal of the fund whose yearly interest will be deposited in the Bank of Israel and used to finance scientific research in Israel only. The Germans are to receive some benefits connected to the research.

The Jerusalem Post's Bonn correspondent first reported on the negotiations on the foundation in yesterday's edition. Establishment of the foundation fulfils a major aim of Peres's visit to West Germany.

Science and Development Minister Gideon Patt told reporters yesterday that Peres and Kohl had first decided on the foundation last fall, in New York during the UN's 40th anniversary celebrations.

Such bi-national foundations are vital to Israeli science, Patt maintained, since his ministry's budget is only $4.2 million, inadequate to the needs of scientific research. Foundations may also attract non-government money, tax-free, from endowment funds and inheritances abroad.

The German-Israel Foundation will be as important to Israel as the U.S. Bi-National Science Foundation, which brings in $7.5m.

Patt said his ministry wanted to sign agreements with enough countries to set up foundations totalling $250 million in financial resources.

These sums, he added, would stem what has recently become a "near brain drain" of scientists and help replace antiquated scientific equipment.

Patt said that during visits to foreign research institutes, his hosts had proudly introduced him to emigrant Israeli scientists who were working for them.

Hoped for are joint research funds with Britain (nearly $50m.), Canada (nearly $70m.) and Australia (for $10m.). With the establishment of diplomatic relations with Spain, Patt hopes to sign an agreement with that country too.

Patt, who never misses an opportunity to criticize the economic policy of his fellow Liberal, Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, said the Finance Ministry's programmes did not hold out "the slightest hope for economic growth," and thus neither industry nor research institutions could hire young scientists.

Patt also announced that Israel had been invited by the UN committee on science and technology to send an Israeli scientist to a conference in Peking in April. The scientist, as yet not named, is to lecture on the use of technology and scientific resources in the national economy. Patt said that although the invitation had come from the UN and not China, he felt there was "some openness" towards Israel there.

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AID TO DEVELOPMENT TOWNS CURBED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Roy Isacowitz and Tsipi Kuper]

[Text] Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i adopted a tight-fisted and hard-headed stance yesterday when facing down demands by 34 heads of development towns for financial assistance. The mayors and council heads have again threatened to strike their services and demonstrate on Sunday outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem if the Treasury does not give them the $34 million it has promised.

Moda'i said that, while he commiserated with their problems, he would not print money for them, and added that they should explore ways of reallocating finances within the structure of the new budget.

The meeting, which took place within the context of the coalition executive, decided on the establishment of a joint team of development town representatives, the coalition and the Interior Ministry, to draw up recommendations for Moda'i.

Earlier, Industry and Trade Ministry Director-General Yehoshua Forer presented the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee with plans that would create some 4,000 jobs in the development towns. He said investment in approved industries in these towns in 1986 would total $600m., of which $350m. is to come from government grants.

Committee chairwoman Ora Namir later told *The Jerusalem Post* she was not optimistic about fulfilment of the programme. "We have seen so many plans and nothing has come of them," she said. And MK Ran Cohen said that even if the plans materialized, they would not reduce unemployment when some 10,000 soldiers from development towns were demobilized each year.

A recent employment service report shows that over a quarter of the country's unemployed live in development towns, although their residents comprise only 10 per cent of the total population.

In Beit She'an, Sderot and Dimona, the towns most severely affected, unemployment grew by over 50 per cent during 1985, according to the report, with 12.5 per cent of the Beit She'an work force jobless during December, and 8.5 per cent unemployed in Sderot.

Peretz Amir, of Sderot, warned that he and his colleagues would not be able to restrain the mounting anger of the development town residents for much longer.

Menachem Ariav, of Upper Nazareth, added that were demonstrations against the government's economic policies to begin, they would be joined by Arabs from Nazareth and would soon acquire "an anti-Zionist colour."

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ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN IRRIGATION COOPERATION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 28 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Liora Moriel]

[Text] BEERSHEBA. – Israeli and Egyptian scientists are to cooperate in research on irrigating tomatoes and melons with saline water and on using salt bushes for fodder.

Agreement on this was reached at a meeting last week in Alexandria of U.S., Israeli and Egyptian scientists involved in the tripartite Cooperative Arid Lands Agricultural Research programme (Calar), according to Prof. Dov Pasternak of Ben-Gurion University who returned from the conference yesterday.

Pasternak, who headed the 15-member Israeli team, told *The Jerusalem Post* that "a breakthrough" had been achieved at the conference.

"In the beginning (three years ago) there was a lot of suspicion on both sides, both on the personal and the professional level, with each side wary of the other's ability to cooperate," Pasternak said.

But last week, at the first major annual workshop to be held in Egypt (the previous one was held in the U.S.) the parties were "more open to hear each other and discuss issues fully."

The joint programme, coordinated by the San Diego State University Foundation, promotes research in saline water irrigation, arid zone shrubs for fodder, and the development of crops for industrial use.

In Alexandria, Pasternak said, the scientists decided to work together on the first two goals. "But each team will work on separate industrial crops, with Egypt concentrating on the jojoba and Israel on the guayule."

The Alexandria conference was attended by 60 Egyptian scientists from five universities and several Agriculture Ministry institutes. "A very high international standard was maintained at the workshop," Pasternak noted.

He emphasized that "Egyptian universities have been teaching agriculture on a very high level for years, and most lecturers there – as in Israel – have had experience abroad."

Even before the peace with Egypt, Israeli and Egyptian scientists met informally at international conferences.

The notion that Israel had knowledge to impart and nothing to learn from Egypt was false, Pasternak said, for while Israel had more experience and expertise in saline irrigation, Egypt led in arid zone small animal breeding.

The drip-irrigation method introduced east of Alexandria three years ago as part of the Calar project has already produced better tomatoes and drip irrigation is spreading through Egypt.

"Israeli extension workers were afraid we'd transfer know-how and technology to Egypt and damage our export potential. But from what I have seen on five trips, we cannot stop the transfer of technology to Egypt, and we might as well benefit economically and politically by supplying it ourselves," Pasternak said.

The Alexandria meeting has already resulted in plans for a visit here by five Egyptian scientists in March, with more such exchanges "in the offing," according to Pasternak.

Some 100 Egyptians, Israelis and Americans are involved in Calar, which is initially funded at $1m. a year for five years.

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IDF EDUCATION MAY SUFFER FROM CUTS

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 1 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] The defense apparatus is currently debating a proposal to cut more than 700 million shekels from the IDF education budget. The chief education officer, Brig Gen Nehemya Dagan, reacted: "That will be a tragedy. The army is the last opportunity to effect some changes in the social situation in Israel."

Dagan, who made the above statement during a visit to the IDF school of leadership development, said that in the 1984/85 fiscal year the IDF education budget totaled about $5 million, out of which $1.9 million came from the defense budget and $3.1 million from the LAVI fund. Dagan revealed that some of the proposals under discussion will result in stopping soldiers' visits to museums, concerts, theater, and movies. On the other hand, various social projects, such as the Raful children's project, will not be touched.

One of the activities organized by the chief education officer's command is providing guidance for the commanding officers of recruiting agencies and for reception and classification officers at reception bases and boot camps as to how to handle the young recruits, so as to lessen the trauma of leaving home as much as possible, and to preclude negative impressions of the IDF due to insensitivity or careless treatment on the part of commanding officers.

Another activity involves regular meetings between the chief education officer and high school principals. Extensive cultural programs are also planned: the establishment of an IDF theater and of libraries in remote places within the framework of the Tarmil Pocket Books. Also under consideration is a proposal to mobilize cultural institutions for reserve duty, such as theaters and orchestras, which would stage shows for the troops.

The IDF education system is also in charge of guiding commanding officers to deal with various problems, such as Kahanism, the attitude toward democracy, etc. The IDF chief education officer suggested to the Knesset speaker that Knesset members should lecture to the troops on parliamentarianism. Next March the chief education officer's command will launch a special educational effort concerning attitudes toward the minorities.

12782
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REGULATIONS FOR TOURIST VISITS TO USSR CHANGED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 1 Jan 86 p 12

[Text] Israeli tourists will now be able to enter the Soviet Union within the framework of organized travel.

Israelis will theoretically go as guests of Soviet professional associations, but in actual fact any Israeli will be able to join such trips. Travel to the USSR became possible after Soviet professional associations agreed to host trips by Romanian professional associations.

Any Israeli belonging to a professional association can join any of the Romanian trips offered: a 15-day trip which includes, in addition to visits to points of tourist attraction in Romania, 1 day in Kishinev and 2 days in Kiev, for a price of $899. The "package" includes first class hotels in the Soviet Union, too, and full board. A 17-day trip includes 3 days in Moscow for $1,050; and a 19-day trip includes visits to Moscow and Leningrad for $1,100.

The Israelis will be flown to Bucharest on EL AL or TAROM--the Romanian national airline--planes, and will continue to the Soviet Union on the USSR's Aeroflot planes. The Russians promised that group visas will be issued to those who fill out the proper forms and send them to Romania no later than 60 days prior to the day of travel.

Israeli tourist authorities yesterday said that aside from the fact that the USSR needs foreign currency, the fact that the Soviet Union is opening its borders to Israeli tourists signals a genuine change of policy.

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BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH IRELAND--The Irish government wants to open full diplomatic relations with Israel--this was stated last week by the Irish minister of industry and tourism, John Barton. The minister stated that the establishment of relations is important in view of the intensive contacts carried out between 14 Israeli firms dealing in advanced technology and local authorities on the construction of an enterprise in Ireland. In keeping with the currently existing arrangement, the Israeli ambassador to England, Yehuda Avner, also handles relations with Ireland, where he visits at certain times, while the Irish ambassador to Greece, Charles Whelan takes care of his country's affairs in Israel. Commentators in Dublin connect the improved relations between Dublin and Jerusalem to President Hayim Herzog's visit to Dublin in June. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 29 Dec 85 p 29] 12782

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DEFENSE MINISTER DISCUSSES ARMS PURCHASES, MILITARY TRAINING

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 18-24 Dec 85 p 23

[Article by 'Abdallah Al al-Shaykh: "AL-MAJALLAH Interviews Shaykh Salim al-Sabah al-Salim; Kuwaiti Minister of Defense: Modern Weapons Have Been Received and Army Has Begun Its Training on Them"]

[Text] Kuwait--The most interesting thing drawing the attention of the observers who keep up with Arab Gulf affairs is that Kuwaiti territories within range of the guns of Iraq and Iran, the two warring neighbors, have avoided getting themselves involved in the battles that have been going on for 5 years.

In a special interview with AL-MAJALLAH, Shaykh Salim al-Sabah al-Salim, the Kuwaiti minister of defense, said that his country views the beginning of the fifth year of this war with pain and regret. He pointed out the inundation of the area by weapons dealers, saying: "The only beneficiaries of this war are the weapons-manufacturing countries that want the war to continue so that they may reap the greatest possible material gains".

Though the Kuwaiti government is constantly concerned with the continuation of the war and with its proximity to the Kuwaiti borders, this government has begun to exert efforts to improve its military machine, which was at the bottom of the government's list of priorities before the eruption of the war, as it employs its political machine to score a victory embodied in avoiding the war despite all the attempts to get it involved.

The Kuwaiti efforts make it obvious that the picture has changed and that evident attention is devoted to the military aspect in financial appropriations and in government programs. The visit by Kuwaiti officials to the Soviet Union evoked a lot of speculation and interpretations.

On this issue, Shaykh Salim told AL-MAJALLAH: "Kuwait prefers not to rely on a single source for the purchase of weapons. The policy of diversification adopted by Kuwait is simply intended to save us from falling under the mercy of a single weapons source, regardless of what it is, especially in a time of need."

New Weapons

On the issue of the purchase of new weapons to strengthen the Kuwaiti army, the minister ackowledged to AL-MAJALLAH "the presence of new weapons deals," saying: "New modern weapons have been purchased. These deals will have a confidential character until the necessary procedures are completed." Shaykh Salim also pointed out that the weapons already purchased have been delivered to Kuwait and that the army has begun training on them.

The Kuwaiti minister of defense said further that an annual armament plan has been drawn up and that it includes a list of the country's needs to supply the defense corps and to bolster their ranks. The plan also takes into consideration training programs for those who will be trained in the use of the weapons.

AL-MAJALLAH asked the Kuwaiti minister of defense about Kuwait's plan to promulgate military conscription laws and he said that he asked to be familiarized with the military conscription laws of the countries that have also shown an interest in and have applied military conscription. The minister emphasized his personal interest in the issue but did not offer a clear idea on how to implement it in the context of Kuwait's demographic structure. It is worth nothing that the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council] referred to the question of studying the conscription issue so that conscription may include six member states.

The recent Muscat summit of the GCC leaders approved a concept of military cooperation, including the staging of joint exercises and the possibility of setting up military industries. Kuwait played an important role when it expressed its support for raising the military issues for study and by continuing its participation in the military exercises. The Kuwaiti minister underlined Kuwait's view of the GCC summits and the defense ministers' conferences, saying that the Gulf meetings and the GCC joint military exercises represent a future force. In these exercises, "preparations are being made to implement the major plan for defending the Gulf area's entity. We beseech God to preserve this area's security and stability which are characteristics of our countries."

In Kuwait, there are urgent questions concerning the army's role in defending the country. There are the circumstances of the small geographic area which limit the possibility of resorting to a long term war. Moreover, the small population amounting to 1.5 million, will cause the building of a big army to affect the other sectors which Kuwait succeeded in developing in the 1970's. It seems that Kuwait's military strategy is founded fundamentally on quality in choosing the war machine and on quality in selecting the individuals who manage it.

Special Quality

Technological quality is the best solution for Kuwait. Kuwait thus proceeded to look for more flexible markets for its weapons deals and intentionally turned its back on the U.S. weapons options when the Zionist lobbies in the

U.S. Congress expressed their initial objection to any Gulf deal when the Kuwaiti minister of defense visited the United States. The decision of the U.S. Department of Defense to divide the Gulf states into two categories insofar as U.S. weapons purchases are concerned further increased Kuwaiti resentment.

What point has the Kuwaiti army reached now? In response to this question, the Kuwaiti minister of defense said: "Kuwait's army is an indivisible part of the GCC states' armies. This army has, God be thanked, reached a strong level and it is prepared to defend the homeland."

Regarding training policy, he said: "Our policy is based on building the individual and, at the same time, on acquiring weapons. In other words, I do not accumulate weapons without the men to operate and deal with them."

Regarding Kuwait's role in continuing to avoid the ongoing war near its borders, the minister said: "This war, which is painful to all of us, must inevitably end, God willing, and must stop at this point."

The minister also said: "Kuwait, as well as the GCC states, continues its efforts to end the bloody fighting between the two Muslim states, to spare the blood of the innocent, and to find a solution to this destructive war because what is spent on this war should be spent on construction and education, instead of being spent on weapons purchases, in the country which needs such construction and education."

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VARIOUS PROBLEMS FACING COUNTRY EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 25-31 Dec 85 pp 16-17

[Article by 'Uthman al-'Umayr: "Three Kuwaiti Concerns; Sabah al-Ahmad to AL-MAJALLAH: We Will Not Permit 'Lebanization' of Kuwait"]

[Text] Kuwait--There is between Kuwait and security a common denominator that hardly disappears before it reappears. Since this small state was founded as the product of a legitimate marriage between Arab tribes who had come from the central Arab Peninsula and from southern Iraq in search of life next to the Gulf, it has been living with a constant security concern. But this has never before cryztallized as it is prominently and obviously crystallized today on street corners, in shops, and in major gathering places. It is now so crystallized that you feel as if you were inside enormous military fortifications.

But this manifestation is no longer surprising because you can notice it when standing next to al-Sayf Palace in which Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir, the amir of Kuwait, and his brother Sabah al-Ahmad live. A number of other brothers have left this palace, which was built by former Amir Shaykh Ahmad al-Jabir in the 1930's, to live outside it. The present amir of Kuwait, who is well known for his life of asceticism and austerity and for steering clear of mere appearances, is still determined to live in this palace without introducing any architectural changes to it, except for what is dictated by circumstances.

Standing next to this palace, you can look afar with a pair of binoculars to see with your own eyes some manifestations of the Iraq-Iran war, which has entered its 5th year without a solution.

Within this framework of the feverish talk about the war, which has become a daily concern of ordinary Kuwaitis and officials, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir--the deputy prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and acting prime minister, who received the delegation of the Saudi Research and Marketing Company, headed by the publisher Muhammad 'Ali Hafiz, at his office in the elegant Ministry of Foreign Affairs building--sees that "the fear lies in a transformation of the Gulf area into an arena struggle among the major powers because this area is and will continue to be the subject of interest by virtue of a vast oil stores that are vitally and strategically important to the world."

When we asked the most veteran minister of foreign affairs in the world and the one with most smiles, what is the solution then? He said: On our part, we have prepared for all eventualities. All we, the Gulf states, have to do is exert efforts to keep this area a peacefull one from which all can benefit.

At the time when Shaykh Sabah was talking to us with this customary simplicity that is engulfed in diplomatic intelligence, I was reviewing in my mind the course of his life as a politician who entered public life through the media, establishing numerous institutions such as the radio and television stations and the first Kuwaiti official paper, in addition to AL-'ARABI magazine, which is considered the biggest Arab magazine and for which all Arab doors, without exception, are open. This magazine is headed by a prominent Gulf individual embodied in Dr Muhammad al-Rumayhi.

I was also pondering the evident presence of Shaykh Sabah in Kuwait's internal life--a presence that has become distinctive, despite Shaykh Sabah's concerns as a prominent politician in the Arab area. Questions had to be asked about the identity and significances of this presence within the political action machine and within the divisions of the decision-making centers.

Shaykh Sabah said: "The truth is that everybody is busy. What is important is how one shoulders and carries out his duties as required by one's responsibilities toward the nation and the homeland."

We and Iran

Shaykh Sabah "evaded" the question intelligently and the talk then turned to the Iraq-Iran war and to the relationship with Iran, especially since it has been noticed that Kuwait has been excluded from Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati's tour of Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

Shaykh Sabah said: "When I met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Velayati in New York, I invited him to visit Kuwait and he accepted the invitation with thanks and showed a clear understanding of our position."

Shaykh Sabah added: "I felt that the Iranian brothers had wrong information on the treatment of prisioners and of some members of the Iranian community. We were able to clarify many issues in this regard. We are a democratic state that lives under the canopy of the law. Under no circumstances will anybody be brought to account unless he has violated the law."

Issue of Hostages and of Kuwait's Prisoners

If the Western press and media are talking a lot about the hostages and about Terry Waite's endeavors to enter Kuwait to discuss the position of the hostages and their exchange for the seven prisoners [terrorists held by Kuwait], then the political circles in the State of Kuwait are paying no attention whatsoever to these endeavors. According to what a Kuwaiti political source told AL-MAJALLAH, "Kuwait believes that these efforts are fabricated and that their objective is to undermine Kuwait and its free democratic system which has preserved its sovereignty and protected its rights."

As to whether there are contacts between Kuwait and certain countries in this regard, the Kuwaiti source said that no contacts have taken place at any level and that Kuwait will not permit discussion of the issue because it is tantamount to intervention in its affairs and sovereignty. The informed Kuwaiti source went to add: "Yes, White did try to discuss the issue but we closed the door, and will keep it closed, in his face."

Democratic Concern

Kuwait's security concerns are only enlivened and strengthened by the concerns of democracy and of a free press as well as by the National Assembly's debates which are obviously heated these days. These months are the months of healing the Kuwaiti home and its internal situation.

Through the parliament's debates and noisy battles and through the issues raised on the pages of the press, the identity of the political and intellectual struggles in the area becomes obvious to the observer. In the National Assembly, there is a raging battle between the minister of education and a group of Assembly members. The enlightened minister, whose capability and integrity, qualities which are almost nonexistent among some ministers of most of the Third World countries, are attested to, wants to reform education. The reform sought has several aspects, the most important being refrainment from enrolling students with low grade averages in the university. This will not please the fundamentalists nor will it please the deputies for election reasons. Therefore, the just cause of educational reform clashed with those who fear for their influence in the ministry and those who beg for the voter's votes.

As in all conferences and assemblies of the Third World, attendance at a single session of the National Assembly reveals to one the difference between two concepts. At the time you are listening to an intelligent speaker, such as Deputy Ahmad al-Rub'i, demonstrating his oratorical eloquence, his academic experience, and his political awareness, you find a group of deputies from the remote areas exchanging greetings and talking of concerns that have nothing to do with the session. At this particular session, the fundamentalists were careful to increase the presence of their supporters to give the deputies a psychological dimension and to influence them, according to what an educated Kuwaiti said. What the fundamentalists wanted happened and they voted against the minister. But the resolution was not binding on the government.

Will the minister resign first?

This is what many Kuwaitis fear because education will lose a man like Hasan al-Ibrahim.

The other issue is the amendment to Article 35 of the publication law. In case this article is amended, Kuwait will see a heavy flood of papers and publications because associations and other organizations will then be entitled to issue their own publications. This is why the government and its supporters are fighting so strongly that a prominent Kuwaiti official said: "We will not permit this law to pass. Should it pass, then Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, the amir, will use his constitutional right to veto it." The truth is that this law, despite its glimmer, will increase the problems from which Kuwait is suffering. Free publication will open the door wide by turning the country into a struggle arena. This is what Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad tried to stress when he said firmly: "We will not permit Kuwait to turn into another Lebanon."

The Kuwait press is another concern of the Kuwaiti regime and its freedom is an issue of give and take between the Kuwaiti government and numerous Arab governments.

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad believes that he does not have the power to compel the Kuwaiti press to publish what the government wants. But at the same time, he urges the Kuwaiti press to follow a policy of balance "because it is unreasonable, according to the Kuwaiti media's father, for our press to be turned into an arena of struggle between Arab political organizations and tendencies."

This view of Shaykh Sabah is shared by Shaykh Nasir al-Sabah, the minister of information. Shaykh Nasir is a personality with evident dynamism. In addition to his long experience in diplomatic activity as his country's ambassador in Tehran and Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Nasir studied in Switzerland and worked as an ambassador there. A great future of long progress toward important positions in the Kuwaiti administration awaits him.

Shaykh Nasir believes that there is hope that the Arab governments will realize that the Kuwaiti press does not even spare Kuwait's rulers. He cites as an example an article written by Ahmad Yusuf al-Nufaysi, the chief editor of the leftist AL-TALI'AH which was strongly influential in the 1960's, in which he attacked the ruling family through the role played by Shaykh Fahd al-Ahmad, one of the amir's brothers, and his refusal to obey and submit to the decisions made by Khalid al-Jumay'an, the minister of social affairs, on the ongoing disagreement between the two in connection with dissolving the Kuwaiti Soccer Federation.

Kuwait's Concerns Are Gulf's Concerns

Kuwait is talking of numerous concerns now that it has begun to recover from al-Manakh Market crisis and has begun to pick its way among numerous difficulties. These are, in fact, the concerns of the entire Gulf area. The sight of the Iraq-Iran war with all its consequences battle problems makes all put their hands on their hearts for fear of the outcome. The battle has expanded, the war includes all, and nobody can put a curtain between himself and this war. On the other hand, democracy has its negative and positive features in a tribal society that had exercised democracy in its inherited form. But then this democracy came to it wearing a different robe and this society is now trying to harmonize with an absorb this form of democracy.

Where does the security concern begin and how will it end?

How can security be established in a society comprised of various groups and different cultures and a society which, regardless of how strong it is cannot rid itself of its tribal roots and its multiple features?

The question is: How can one create a society that does not abandon its multiplicity and conservatism but rather subjugates them to make them civilizational?

To Dr Muhammad al-Rumayhi, the answer is simple: Dialogue!

Dialogue, in al-Rumayhi's view, is the real solution because it is an instrument of understanding, understanding an instrument of knowledge, and knowledge the gate to awareness. The pleasing thing is that the etiquette of dialogue has become largely audible in the Gulf societies.

Neither Kuwaiti's economy nor its oil, like the economy and oil of the other Gulf states, is well. Within this framework, Kuwait seeks to make the citizen understand this equation: It is unreasonable for the citizen to continue to stand idle under these bitter circumstances, relying on the state's hospitality and gifts. This is what Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adasani, the ex-speaker of the National Assembly who lost in the latest elections, believes. Citing an example, al-'Adasani said: "Electricity in Kuwait costs 35 fils and is sold for 2 fils."

Al-'Adasani added: "If we examine these obligations undertaken by the Gulf governments, we find on the other hand that the estimated deficit in the budgets of the Gulf states will range from 25-27 percent."

What preoccupies the Gulf citizen's mind?

The deep-rooted Kuwaiti diplomat and veteran parliamentarian rubs his hands: The biggest problem facing the Gulf citizen is affluence and worry! Yes, affluence and worry!

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR GERMAN INVESTMENTS IN PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
3 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Wolfgang Mueller-Haeseler: "Investors in Saudi Arabia Must Be Patient"]

[Text] Riyadh--The Saudi-German Development and Investment Co. Ltd. (Sageco) in Riyadh which was jointly established in 1982 by the Saudi Arabian ministry of finance and national economy and the German Development Corporation (DEG) believes that the German chemical industry has missed its opportunity to participate in the development of the Saudi Arabian petrochemical industry but that German industry may do so after all within the framework of the new 5-year plan which has just begun. This is the opinion recently voiced by Dr. Hartmut Rabich, the German managing director of Sageco in a conversation with economic journalists from the FRG.

Saudi Arabia likes to portray itself as an Eldorado for the processing industry, Rabich said; but the point is to take the special situation of the country into consideration. There is a viable infrastructure already and industrialization is no doubt continuing at a rapid pace. There are opportunities to go into production in Saudi Arabia in a variety of fields--the more so since only 15 percent of domestic demand is being met by domestic production. In addition, the government is firmly resolved to continue its support for the ongoing industrialization program by building petrochemical plants in the coastal cities of Jubail and Yanbo.

In view of the reduced revenues from oil exports, government expenditures in the new 5-year plan have been substantially cut, e.g. farm subsidies. But there is no doubt that the processing industry continues to be one of the focal points of the economic development program. 50 percent of the total budget of some 200 billion rials are earmarked for investments according to present plans.

Rabich termed it a step in the right direction that the Saudi Arabian authorities are taking a more flexible approach than before to their plans and programs. He was convinced, he said, that Saudi Arabia is able to hold its own which in turn, provides security to foreign investors.

But interested parties from abroad, who intend to build production facilities in Saudia Arabia, will also have to be able to hold their own. As a rule preparatory work takes an inordinately long time, if for no other reason than because available statistics are sketchy and not very reliable. For this reason, market analysis is a must--and Sageco can help with this. The analysis must not only include sales opportunities and cost structures but must also take local and climatic conditions into consideration. A study on aluminum window frames (which seemed to offer good chances for success in view of the construction boom in Saudi Arabia) came to the conclusion that this type of material is of no use whatever, because of the strong sun radiation.

The first step should therefore be a field study which provides an initial overview of potential opportunities. Both Sageco--58 percent of whose capital is provided by the Saudi Public Investment Fund and the remaining 42 percent by the DEG--and the banks and chambers of foreign trade can help in the preparation of such a study. The next step, according to Sageco, would be a feasibility study to be followed by a thorough analysis of the local and export markets which should focus on the actual location of the planned business venture. If the production capacity of the company exceeds the needs of the domestic market and that of the neighboring Gulf nations--which is likely to be the case--the long distances to be covered in transporting the goods to the export markets should be taken into consideration. At this stage, the potential investor should already be starting to look for the capital needed to realize the project. Once the necessary funding has been obtained and the amounts have been determined, a concluding management study can be undertaken. Based on the experience of Sageco in these matters, the entire process should take anywhere from 2½ to 3½ years.

After this lengthy preparatory phase, the technical and administrative side of the undertaking work rather quickly. The next phase which includes establishing contacts to the required Saudi partners (one should select one out of three), drawing up contracts, obtaining the necessary licenses and getting the company properly registered should take another 6 months, Rabich says, so that the entire preparatory phase should take about 4 years. In drawing up a partnership agreement, it has proved useful to set Saudi participation at 51 percent but to insist on an equal voice in the decision-making process. This not only improves the chances of obtaining licenses and getting the company registered (since there is a good deal of talk at present about the "Saudization" of industry) but also of getting the capital for the project.

As a rule, the financial plan calls for participation by the Saudi Industrial Development Fund which usually provides a 7-year, no-interest loan for one-half of the required capital. The foreign investor himself must provide 30 or at least 25 percent of the capital while third parties may provide the remaining 20 or 25 percent. It is here that the DEG can step in by providing a 10-year loan which includes a 4-year grace period.

Rabich makes no bones about the difficulties entrepreneurs from the industrialized nations may face in Saudi Arabia. But they can be resolved, he feels, if projects are prepared with sufficient care. One has to choose very carefully, he says. It is better to spend a long time on negotiations than to give in to temptation and the promise of quick results. But once a contract has been agreed upon, the Saudis invariably prove to be reliable partners.

One of the biggest obstacles is low productivity because the manpower is not sufficiently qualified. The government is aware of this problem and is making serious efforts to remedy it. Plans are to increase the productivity of the Saudi economy by six percent per year in the future--which is a very ambitious goal for a developing nation. Rabich points out, however, that other industrialized nations have been deterred by these initial difficulties to a far lesser extent than German industry. After all, there are some 350 producing joint ventures in Saudi Arabia at this time but only 12 of these include German participation. The chances being offered by Saudi Arabia are thus not being sufficiently utilized by any means.

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FOREIGN MINISTER ANALYZES POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF OIL DISCOVERY

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 28 Dec 85-1 Jan 86 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, minister of foreign affairs, by Khalil Matar: "Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, Yemeni Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to AL-TADAMUN: Yemen's Oil Will Not Enable It To Dispense with Brothers' and Friends' Aid"; in New York, date not specified]

[Text] New York--During his visit to New York to attend the U N General Assembly meetings, AL-TADAMUN interviewed Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani, the YAR deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, on Yemen's affairs while country is entering the oil phase.

[Question] In light of the oil discoveries announced in Yemen, can it be said that Yemen stands on the threshold of the oil-exporting countries' club?

[Answer] Yemen is still considered one of the less developed countries in the world. The latest U N clssification puts Yemen in this list. There is no doubt that the discovery of a natural resource in any society has its economic and, consequently, social and political value. So far, Yemen is still a developing country and, in my view, will continue to be for many years to come in need of the brothers and the friends in the sphere of economic cooperation and aid. This emanates from the enormous backwardness we inherited from the imamate. It is true that the oil discoveries will somewhat alleviate the burdens shouldered by the world community toward a developing country. But it is also true that Yemeni society continues to be a developing society experiencing the obvious manifestations of the developing countries, such as meager resources, inadequate education, and inadequate basic utilities. It is not my intention to present a pessimistic picture but rather to remind ourselves that neither out brothers nor our friends nor the international organizations may think that Yemen is about to dispense with foreign aid and become rich. In my view, Yemen will continue to be in the coming decade in need of international cooperation to develop and enhance Yemeni society.

It remains to be noted that insofar as the oil discoveries made are concerned, our country's leadership has repeatedly said that this wealth, great or small, belongs to the people and must be exploitedfor the people's good. This is what we can reaffirm and tell all people.

[Question] But can it be said that Yemen will not need foreign aid in 10 years?

[Answer] In light of the economic relations prevalent in the world community at present, a country with the resources of the United States, for example, cannot dispense with economic cooperation. But as for the soft-term financial aid which the developing countries need and without which they cannot repay their foreign debts or commercial loans, the need for such aid differs from country to country. It is my belief that Yemen will continue to need soft-term aid, whether in the form of Arab funds or from the international organizations. But if we phrase the question as follows, you believe that Yemen will move from the circle of countries with the direst need for soft-term aid to the circle of countries that cannot dispense with commercial cooperation, then let us say that my answer is that we will pass from a need for aid to cooperation, meaning that in 10 years Yemen will move from the circle of aid to the circle of cooperation.

[Question] What is the negative or positive effect of the discovery of oil on uniting the two parts of Yemen?

[Answer] Yemen's unity is the Yemeni people's fate and destiny. We should not think that an event occurring in one of the two parts will affect unity negatively. The more economic strenght, growth, and development one of the two parts achieves, the stronger and more developed becomes the unity action.

[Question] As long as we are on the issue of Yemen unity, there are those who believe that cooperation between the two parts has declined to the protocol level, meaning that we see practically no progress toward practical unity. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] The decline you are talking about is groundless. The practical cooperation between the two parts is stronger today than ever before. Here are several examples:

First, the joint project to prospect for natural resources. This project is progressing at a good pace and with full cooperation. This requires eliminating and overcoming any difficulty, such as permitting aircraft to carry out aerial photography and to cross the airspace between the two parts and permitting technical teams to move between the two parts with ease.

Second, there is the joint land transportation company which has turned in a profit this year, thus reflecting a high degree of facilitation in the movement of citizens and goods and in the procedures required for this movement. It is well known that there was a time in which the movement of the Yemeni citizen from one part to the other seemed prohibitive. This used to happen many years ago.

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RELIGIOUS CURRENT'S STRENGTH, ASPIRATIONS PROFILED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 28 Dec 85-1 Jan 86 pp 12-15

[Article by Bakr 'Uwaydah: "Yemen's 'Brotherhood': Where to?"]

[Text] Finally, it has been proven that North Yemen's land conceals under it a wealth of oil that is capable for putting this country on the threshold of a new phase of stability and prosperity. At the same time, more than one observer believes not only that oil is running under Yemen's soil but that it seems, according to well-informed Yemeni sources to which AL-TADAMUN listened, that the Muslim Brotherhood is also moving underground in Yemen by virtue of its being "a crude arena ripe for disseminating the Brotherhood's ideas." AL-TADAMUN's sources say that this movement has its symbols and facades that do not present themselves as belonging to the Brotherhood but that work and move as leaders of the religious current which does not conceal its wish to Islamize Yemen in its own way. In this analysis, AL-TADAMUN published whatever information can be published on this important issue. We will follow this analysis with a series of dossiers on the Brotherhood and the religious currents in more than one Arab country.

On Sunday, 7 April 1985, the West Sanaa court in the capital of Yemen convened under the chairmanship of Judge 'Abdallah al-Warith to examine a lawsuit of a new kind to Yemeni judiciary circles. The case has also aroused the interest of political and intellectual circles in and outside Yemen, particularly among those who keep up with and observe Yemen's political conditions and the development of its system of government. Each of the two sides to the lawsuit has a professional side with a political dimension. The plaintiff is in the educational profession and its official name is the Religious Institutes. As for its political dimension, it is embodied in two points: First, it has a religious character and is known as the Religious Scientific Institutes. The second point emerges in the person of the number-one man in the administration of these institutes and the man representing them in this litigation. This person is Judge Yahya Lutf al-Fusayl (He was removed from the chairmanship of the educational institutes in transfers announced in Sanaa on 14 November 1985 when he was appointed a member of the Consultative Council. This was considered a step with significant political indications to those concerned with Yemen's affairs). Judge al-Fusayl is not an ordinary Yemeni personality but rather a person with a political heritage that is reflected in his positions.

To complete the story, the defendant is in the journalism profession, namely the weekly issued under the name of AL-AMAL. Its political dimension is embodied in two inseparable points, namely its political line and the person of its chief editor who is being sued in the case. AL-AMAL's political line is the political line of Sa'id Ahmad al-Janahi, its chief editor. He is one of those called by Yemeni political circles the "movement members," a reference to the Arab Nationalist Movement which flourished from the mid-1950's to the mid-1960's when it scattered into several factions and organizations which have followed the Marxist line ideologically and the Soviet line politically. Sa'id al-Janahi is one of the founders of this movement in Yemen. He was one of the leaders of a Yemeni organization known by the name of the Democratic National Front which opposed the North Yemen regime for several years, with the support of the South Yemen regime, until current President 'Ali 'Abdallan Salih was able to build bridges of dialogue with the various parties. As a result, AL-AMAL's publication began on 17 September 1980 as part of an inter-Yemeni reconciliation effort aimed at creating an atmosphere of stability and mutual trust between the two parts of Yemen. Moreover, the paper, sued by a religious educational establishment, is considered the leftist voice opposing the traditionalist current. This can be considered the core of the issue. The Educational Institutes Organization charges the paper with advocating infidelity and atheism, basing its charge on the allegation that the paper accused the educational institutes of training their students in the use of weapons in preparation for seizing power. This is what the organization rejects and considers a sort of attempt to incite the regime against the persons in charge of the organization. For its part, the paper published a series of investigative reports in which it raised the issue of the curricula taught at these institutes and urged government intervention to reconsider these curricula. The lawsuit concludes by demanding a compensation of 20 million Yemeni riyals (nearly $5 million) for the organization, as well as its closing and a prohibiting against publication.

The importance of this lawsuit (which is still in court) is that it has been considered by those concerned with Yemen's affairs a step that moves the struggle between the leaders of North Yemen's political religious current and their opponents to a phase whereby it seems that this struggle is about to explode in forms going beyond the form of intellectual struggle to what is more serious. Before we wade into further details, we are faced by the question: Why is there the linkage between the political religious current and the Religious Educational Institutes Organization, and is this political religious current an extension of the Muslim Brotherhood movement existing in more than one Arab country?

Observers of the political religious current's activity in Yemen say that the ban on political activity in the country motivated this current's leaders to think of creating organizations through which they can organize their ranks and work within a framework of legitimacy. One of the most important organizations which the religious current's leaders have been able to create in Yemen is the Religious Educational Institutes Organization which is only superficially tied to the Ministry of Education, considering that the ministry does not intervene in preparing these institutes' curricula and that these curricula are drawn up by certain persons, most of whom are well known for their belonging to the traditionalist religious current. However, it is not decisively clear if there is an underground organization following the Muslim Brotherhood and including these persons.

The establishment of these institutes dates back to the period immediately following the end of the Yemen war, i.e., when the government was established in favor of the republican system. When first established, these institutes received attention and care from the regime by virtue of the fact that they included personalities that had been well known for their position of rigid hostility to the republican regime. For its part, this regime has been eager to attract these personalities and to win their friendship. Foremost among these personalities is judge Yahya Lutf al-Fusayl.

Who is Judge al-Fusayl?

Until his appointment as a member of the Consultative Council, Judge al-Fusayl was, as we have already pointed out, the chairman of the Religious Educational Institutes Organization. One of the reasons on which those who view this organization as a facade of the political religious current, and perhaps of the Muslim Brotherhood, rely lies in the man's political background and heritage. Judge al-Fusayl's background says that he was one of the men who led the fight against establishing a republican regime and who tried to perpetuate the imamate's rule. In this regard, he held during the Yemen war the military command of what was known as the Bani Matar Front. He was a member of the imamate council during the war and then headed this council on the eve of the Egyptian forces' withdrawal and the start of the Sanaa blockade in November 1967. Moreover, he held the position of minister of justice in the imamate (referring to rule by the imam) government formed during the war.

The observers say that the religious educational institutes flourished under the republican regime during Judge 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Iryani's presidency (November 1967 to June 1974) and then declined under the administration of Liutenant Colonel Ibrahim al-Hamdi who tried to mix many equations when he displayed extraordinary enthusiasm for uniting North and South Yemen--an enthusiasm that reached the point of his sudden announcement of unity with Aden. But al-Hamdi's assassination and the assumption of power by al-Ghashmi restored to the religious educational institutes the glow which they had lost under al-Hamdi's administration. These institutes now exceed 100 in number.

It is the estimate of some people that the number of active individuals within the religious current--individuals who perhaps form the nucleus of the Muslim Brotherhood branch in North Yemen as an underground organization--does not exceed 10,000 people. These people add that the religious political current projected itself as a Yemeni organization under the name of the Islamic Front which was supported by the regime in the face of the oppostion front that was operating under the name of the Democratic National Front. However, the inter-Yemeni reconciliation achieved under the administration of current President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih opened the path for the formation of a committee named the National Dialogue Committee and was comprised of representatives of all Yemeni political currents, including the religious current. This committee drew up the national charter bill and this charter has been adopted as a formula for the political action in which all the political currents participate. But what arouses the concern of some Yemeni circles in that the traditionalist religious current in Yemen is still operating outside this formula's framework. These circles fear that this current's members are in the phase of organizing themselves in an underground organization operating to attain power and to declare Yemen a state similar to Khomeyni's Iran.

These circles rely on the investigations conducted with the leaders of al-Jihad Organization in Egypt in 1983--investigations which revealed that the general command of the Muslim Brotherhood looks forward to taking advantage of the fact that North Yemen is an "arena ripe for the dissemination of the Brotherhood's ideas, especially since the Yemenis cling to religion and since it is not difficult to attract a large number of students and workers to the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood as an organization with a religious character and whose political objectives may not be clear to many young people."

It remains to be pointed out that the most prominent personalities referred to nowadays in North Yemen as leaders of the religious current, which is believed to be an undeclared organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, include, in addition to Judge Yahya al-Fusayl, Yasin 'Abd-al-'Aziz Qabati, who is said to be concerned with organization affairs, and lawyer Hammud Hashim al-Dharihi, who is litigating for the Institutes Organization in the lawsuit against AL-AMAL paper, in addition to a number of personalities affected by the recent changes, announced on Thursday, 14 November 1985. These personalities include Ahmad al-Asbahi, an ex-minister of labor and social affairs; Ahmad al-Akwa', a former mayor of the capital; and 'Abdallah al-'Ansi, a former chairman of the Central Control Agency. Some also believe that the paper reflecting this current is AL-SAHWAH, issued by Muhammad al-Yadumi, who is also its chief editor.

The question raised at Yemeni gathering these days is: Where will the symbols of Yemen's religious current reach? Are they really preparing to Islamize the government in their own way or will Yemen, which stands at the threshold of a new phase of prosperity and self-reliance in the wake of the reconstruction of Ma'rib Dam and of the discovery of the oil wealth, surpass all the snares planted on the path? This is a question to be answered by the coming days.

8494/12951
CSO: 4404/177

CITY OFFERING EVERYTHING FOR A PRICE

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 16 Feb 86 p 20

[Article by Nikolaus Prede in Kabul]

[Text] "THERE'S nothing you can't get in Kabul," says the Afghan interpreter, and he's not exaggerating.

This city of two million is still a teeming oriental bazaar eight years after the People's Democrats of Babrak Karmal took over, and despite the Soviet presence.

Throughout the maze of streets and alleyways people are haggling and doing deals. Trade is booming and the range of goods seems endless.

Spices, flatbread, sex videos, German washing powder, French perfume, exquisite Swiss watches, Japanese televisions all mix up with the karakul sheepskins, Yugoslavian and American cigarettes, Scotch whisky and Chinese jasmine tea.

The unexpectedly vivid picture gives little hint of the hardship that followed the 1978 revolution or the path being steered by Karmal's 143,000-member People's Democratic Party.

And it's in stark contrast to the grey of Moscow, the voice behind the throne of Karmal's regime today.

It's a weird sight for a visiting German to see vans passing down the streets here with "Waeschedienst Scholz" or "Firma Nagel" on the side.

They're among the hundreds of second hand vehicles driven 5,000 kms from West Germany via the Soviet Union down here where they fetch a high price and the last thing anyone thinks of is to paint out their original markings.

Japanese, Soviet, French and American cars and trucks are also here in abundance. If you ask how this can be in a Marxist state you'll get a ready reply from Khan Mohammed Jalab, the trade minister who's held on to his post through four government changes.

Between 75 and 85 per cent of all internal Afghan trade is carried out in the private sector, he says. That's the wealth of wholesalers, smaller dealers and retailers who ply their trade not just in the bazaars but throughout the city, day in day out.

If you can't afford a shop you set up a stall, use a hand cart if not a truck, an old shipping container if not a warehouse. A barber in Kabul is in business if he's got a razor. The street's his shop.

"We don't want to break with this tradition, and we shan't give up the private sector," Jalab told a gathering of international reporters here.

The sense is clear: the army of private traders plays a big part in keeping Afghanistan's weak economy on its feet.

Private business also plays a big role in foreign trade, accounting for something like 45 per cent, and with the US dollar, the West German mark and the British pound in particular favour.

Jalab says the state does not ban possession of hard currencies. In contrast to the strict currency regulations in the Soviet Union, anyone in Afghanistan can do deals in marks, pounds or whatever.

Sixty per cent of foreign trade is with the Soviet Union. Top among the non-communist states is Japan, which Jalab says exports goods worth $500 million a year to Afghanistan, taking in return Afghan goods to the value of only $150 million.

The Afghan regime accuses its Pakistani neighbours, backed by the US, of being the main fomenters of hostility against Kabul, but that doesn't stop considerable trade between the two.

For landlocked Afghanistan, Pakistan remains the most important trading partner in the region.

Taking a heavy slice of the trade are Patoon border area tribesmen who for years have earned a reputation for smuggling, bringing their heavily-laden camels in from Pakistan. Jalab prefers the term "traditional tribal trade" to smuggling.

No one knows what value of goods they deal in, but the official figure for imports from Pakistan last year was $30 million.

Two-thirds of Afghanistan's foreign trade is done via the Soviet Union. This, says Jalab, is because the transport route is particularly convenient.

Afghanistan's inflation rate in 1985 was 20 per cent, he says a rough figure in a country where the average annual income is only 7,000 afghani, or less than $150 (about 4,000 baht).

It means that while there's nothing you can't get here, the price is well beyond what ordinary people can pay. A can of beer in a luxury hotel here, for instance, costs $7 (about 190 baht).

Many of Kabul's population live in simple, unheated mud houses unconnected to any sewerage system. For these people the prices of luxuries are prohibitive — 120 afghanis, or around $3, for a kilo of oranges in winter, 160 afghanis for a kilo of lamb, 80,000 afghanis — over 11 times the average annual income — for a big Japanese colour television. — dpa

/8309
CSO: 4600/224

BRIEFS

REBEL ACTIVITIES REPORTED--London, 10 February IRNA--A Karmal regime paramilitary camp in Narang of Konarha Province was ambushed on 1 February. The Mujahideen led by commanders (Fazal-e-Rabi) and (Fida Mohammad) set the camp ablaze as a result of which two tanks were destroyed and a number of paramilitary troops were killed, AGENCY AFGHAN PRESS reported here. The following day Russian troops in retaliation bombarded (Ganjgal) and Nawah villages causing destruction as well as killed livestock. [sentence as received] In a separate incident a week ago another guerilla group of Mujahideen attacked Saukai sub division and the village of Pashshad. The sub division building caught fire after it was hit by rocket. Sixteen Kabul regime soldiers were killed. [personal, place names in parentheses IRNA spelling as received] [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1724 GMT 10 Feb 86 LD] /12913

CSO: 4600/223

REPORTAGE ON BANGLADESH-PRC JOINT COOPERATION COMMISSION

Agreed Minutes Signed

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh-China Joint Commission on economic trade, scientific and technical cooperation on Sunday signed an agreed minutes reaffirming the desire of the two countries to further develop their close relations.

The visiting Chinese Minister for Chemical Industry, Mr Quin Zhongda and Finance Minister Adviser Mr M. Syeduzzaman, signed the agreed minutes in Dhaka on behalf of their respective governments at the end of the three-day second session of Bangladesh-China Joint Commission. Both sides agreed to hold the next session of the joint commission at Peking in the first half of next year. The first session of the joint commission was held in Peking last September.

Talking to newsmen after the signing of the agreed minutes, Mr Qin Zhongda who led the 10-member Chinese delegation to the second session of Bangladesh-China Joint Commission said "we attach great importance to the steady growth of relations between our two nations." He observed that the existing trade gap between the two countries was not a "major problem in our overall economic relations." He assured of sending a team of experts from China to undertake a study of Bangladesh's mineral resources.

Mr Syeduzzman who led Bangladesh's side at the Joint Commission session disclosed that China provided about 130 million dollars in financial assistance to Bangladesh over the last few years. Bulk of this assistance, he added, went to Polash Urea Fertilizer Factory and Sunderban Textile Mills. He informed that 20 million dollars of the Chinese assistance still remained unused.

The two sides agreed to explore possibilities of cooperation in respect of transfer of technology in various sectors. The joint commission discussed various measures for increasing exports to China from Bangladesh to bridge up the trade imbalance.

The Chinese delegation expressed their willingness to explore the possibilities of cooperating in different development projects in the Third Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh after conducting feasibility studies on case by case basis. Bangladesh requested for Chinese assistance in mining and exploration of coal deposits at Barapukuria and development of sericulture. Bangladesh also proposed a number of new projects under its Third Five-Year Plan like Polash type urea fertilizer factories; soda ash plant; caustic soda and chlorine plants; power distribution projects between east and west zone.

Joint ventures

The two sides agreed to facilitate joint venture collaboration in the fields of leather processing, light engineering, textiles, fishing, spinning and other small projects. Both sides agreed to sign an agreement for the construction of mini-hydro plant at Madhab, Sylhet as early as possible. The two sides also agreed to make efforts to complete Rupganj north water conservancy project. They reviewed the progress of the preparatory work for construction of Buriganga bridge.

Both sides discussed issues relating to implementation of Bangladesh-China maritime transport agreement and air transport agreement. They decided to undertake study tours and exchange of experiences in the two countries under scientific and technical cooperation agreement.

The Chinese Minister thanked the Government of Bangladesh for supporting China's membership in the Asian Development Bank. Bangladesh side hoped that the joining of China in ADB would contribute to greater South-South cooperation.

The joint Press release issued after the talks said that the joint commission session was held in a very warm and friendly atmosphere reflecting close relations between the two countries.

BSS adds: Mr Qin Zhongda called on Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed at the latter's office on Sunday.

During the meeting the Commerce Minister recalled the very cordial trade talks held in Peking last month between him and his Chinese counterpart, an official handout said.

The Chinese Minister congratulated the Bangladesh Commerce Minister for the very successful trade negotiations which resulted in the biggest ever barter protocol. He assured Mr Ahmed of all cooperation from the Chinese side in its timely and full implementation.

Interview with Delegation Leader

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Matiur Rahman]

[Text] China will implement all the projects already committed by her in Bangladesh under bilateral cooperation for further growth of relations between the two friendly countries.

Talking to this correspondent exclusively yesterday before departure for home, Mr Qin Zhongda, Chinese Minister for Chemical Industry and leader of the 10-member Chinese delegation, said what we have agreed we will implement.

The Chinese minister described his visit as very successful and said he and his delegation members had talks with wide circle of people representing various fields like trade, commerce, banking and industry in Bangladesh with a view to promoting bilateral cooperation.

Mr Qin Zhongda, an elderly member of the Chinese party central leadership, led his country delegation to the three-day meeting of the Bangladesh-China Joint Commission in Dhaka and said the agreed minutes was signed on Saturday at the second session of the meeting following successful discussions between the two sides. Finance Adviser M. Syeduzzaman led the Bangladesh delegation at the meeting of the Joint Commission that was set up in 1983.

The Chinese Minister said his delegation had elaborate talks with the Bangladesh side under the Joint Commission for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation.

During the 8-day visit to Bangladesh, the Chinese Minister called on President Lt Gen Ershad and met a number of ministers and exchanged views with them on various issues of common concern.

According to official sources, the two sides at the Joint Commission meeting in Dhaka agreed to undertake various industrial projects like leather processing, textile finishing, light engineering and other small industries in Bangladesh with Chinese assistance.

The Joint Commission had its first meeting in Beijing in 1984 and is expected to have its third and next session again in Beijing by the middle of next year.

Mr Qin Zhongda was also happy to participate in the commissioning of the Polash Urea Fertilizer Factory that was set up with Chinese assistance. President Ershad inaugurated the factory on January 20.

China also extended cooperation by providing both technical and economic assistance for setting up of the Sundarban Textile Mills earlier, and has already undertaken another project for constructing "friendship bridge" over the river Buringanga to connect the capital city of Dhaka with the other side of the river. Mr Qin Zhongda also visited the bridge-site during his stay.

China has also agreed to help in the 50-mw hydro project at Madhab in Sylhet.

Mr Qin Zhongda was happy to enjoy the scenic beauty of Kaptai Lake on which he and his delegation members had cruise during two-day visit to Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. "It is really a beautiful place," he remarked.

He praised Bangladesh people for warm and cordial welcome accorded to him and his delegation during the visit and conveyed message of goodwill on behalf of the people of his country to the friendly people of Bangladesh.

The Chinese minister left Dhaka yesterday for Bangkok enroute to Beijing at the end of his 8-day visit to Bangladesh. Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed besides senior officials was present at the Zia International Airport to bid farewell to the Chinese minister and his delegation.

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CSO: 4600/1402

SRI LANKA, DHAKA MINISTERS DISCUSS BILATERAL RELATIONS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka at their official talks in Colombo on Monday discussed the entire gamut of bilateral relations and underscored the need for expanding economic cooperation between the two countries a Foreign Office Press release said reports BSS.

Foreign Minister Mr Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury and his Lankan counterpart, Mr. A.C.S Hameed led their respective sides at the talks

The two sides noted that the momentum of cooperation created with the founding of SAARC at the Dhaka summit had provided tremendous opportunities to build wider economic coperation.

The fields which drew attention of the two Foreign Ministers at the talks include collaboration in export-oriented industries, technical cooperation, shipping direct air link and trade the Press release said.

The two sides laid special emphasis on the need for airlinking of the capitals of the two countries.

It was agreed that Bangladesh and Sri Lanka would meet at the expert level to identify the possible areas of cooperation.

They reviewed the existing level of trade between the two nations and found that there was enough scope for further expansion of trade to a substantial degree.

During the talks Mr. Chowdhury said, Bangladesh could gain from the experience of Sri Lanka for developing coconut plantation and coconut-based industry.

Bangladesh, the Foreign Minister said, is in a position to sell finished jute products to Sri Lanka at an internationally competitive price.

The two Foreign Ministers noted with satisfaction that the momentum of SAARC would usher in a new era of peace, stability and economic progress

They expressed concern and dismay over international situation and mentioned that the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the growth of superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean had a direct bearing on the peace and stability in the region.

The situation in West Asia, the Iran—Iraq war, and the deteriorating interntional economic situation also came up for discussions the Press release said.

The Bangladesh side at the talks was assisted by its High Commissioner in Colombo Mr. A.H.F.K Sadique while the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister was assisted by Foreign Secretary Mr. W.T. Jayasinighe.

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CSO: 4600/1396

SOVIET AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH DHAKA

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 6 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Soviet Ambassador to Bangladesh V.G. Baliaev yesterday said that his country was having excellent friendly relations with Bangladesh and considered all of its people as friends.

But he complained that most Bangladeshis had almost forgotten the Soviet Union's role in 1971 during the war of independence because of the media which feeds fictitious information drawn from western sources, about his country.

The ambassador's remarks came at a press briefing at the Soviet Embassy Club.

The smiling Soviet diplomat who often entered into arguments and counter arguments with newsmen said that the media in Bangladesh, barring a few exceptions, had been portraying the Soviet Union's role in Afghanistan as an aggression. This was contrary to the actual picture, he said, adding it was similar to Bangladesh situation in 1971. "You had aggressors from the Pakistan and the Soviet Union helped defeat them. On the basis of a friendship treaty the Soviet troops went in aid of its friends in Kabul in 1979 to fight aggressors. He stoutly denied that it was an invasion.

Mr Baliaev, after a lengthy prepared statement on Soviet Union's role in the context of its stand for peace and disarmament on the occasion of the forthcoming 27th congress of the Soviet Communist Party, said that his country's commercial sales of weapons were based on "reality" and meant for friends. He refuted a suggestion that it was one of the obstacles to world peace.

The Soviet Ambassador avoided directly answering a number of questions on whether the invasion of Afghanistan was in accordance with Leninist principle as the late Soviet leader stood for non-interference in others' internal affairs or 'export of revolutions' and promotion of peace, as expounded by his country. When a newsman wanted to know if Soviet 'friends' in Dhaka staged an "Afghan type revolution' and seek Soviet help, what would be his country's reaction. The ambassador said that it was a hypothetical question and that "Soviet Union does not believe in exporting revolutions of interference in other countries' internal affairs."

The ambassador referred to Soviet help to Bangladesh in developing its energy sector, particularly the proposed expansion of the Ghorasal power project which ultimately is likely to have 740 megawatts capacity, the biggest in the sub-continent, the recent sale of 25 thousand tons of sugar, the proposal to build Rupsa bridge and purchase of garments "following quota from your other friends" and said there were some of the examples of Moscow's efforts to help develop Bangladesh economy and promote peace and friendship with developing nations.

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CSO: 4600/1405

REPORTAGE ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S 22 JAN PRESS CONFERENCE

Stand on Libya, Other Matters

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 22 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Bangladesh has no intention to participate in the economic sanctions against Libya as called by the United States on the charge of terrorism, Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Choudhury said in Dhaka yesterday.

He told a questioner, "there should not be any concern and we are not participating in any sanctions nor we have any intention to participate."

On return home Sunday night from a 17-day tour that took him to Morocco, West Germany, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, the Foreign Minister was giving a brief resume on his visit to the newsmen at the Foreign Ministry.

Mr Choudhury denied that there was any approach by the United States for participating in the sanctions saying, "it has to meet our criteria. He said no when asked whether Libya sent any request to Bangladesh.

He said the United States. "is a friendly country and it has its own criteria. He also described Bangladesh's relations with Libya as good and normal.''

The Foreign Minister called for "restraint" by both the United States and Libya so that peace was not thwarted.

"We are examining the implications of the US sanctions against Libya from the Bangladesh point of view he said and added other countries including the European allies of the United States were also examining the sanctions.

Answering a question on the Libyan claim of non-involvement in the incidents of Rome and Vienna and the subsequent US position, Mr. Choudhury said, "we are in the process of investigation of the development."

The Foreign Minister told a questioner that a declaration was made from the chair at the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in Fez in Morocco on the imposition of the US sanctions against Libya.

He said the OIC Foreign Ministers' Conference reviewed the situation prevailing in Middle-East, Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq war, and said the developments pertaining to Libya and the United States on the incidents that took place in Rome and Vienna.

The Fez conference reiterated its call for withdrawal of the forces of "the occupying power from Afghanistan, he said.

On the prolonged Iran-Iraq war Mr Choudhury said Iran had officially appreciated the efforts initiated by the OIC peace mission of which Bangladesh is a member for ending the fratricidal conflict. He described Iran's acknowledgement as 'a positive development' and said 'we have been trying to bring an end to the useless war.'

Asked about the problems being faced by the OIC peace mission the Foreign Minister said there was 'growing tendency' among the member countries of accusing each instead of showing unity among them.

Mr Choudhury stressed the need for finding 'a unified position' by the OIC member countries in order to deal with the problems facing the Muslim world.

Asked about his planned but postponed visit to Tehran immediately after the Dhaka visit of the Iranian Foreign Minister on the war issue, Mr. Choudhury said 'if I am convinced that my visit to Tehran will bring constructive results to end the war. I will visit Iran.' He also described Dhaka's relations with Tehran as "good" and said 'we are in touch with the Iranian government through the missions in Dhaka and Tehran.'

On his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Choudhury said he had talks with his German counterpart on various international issues concerning both the countries including the North-South dialogue.

The Foreign Minister said there was no follow-up actions of the Cancun summit for increasing cooperation between the developed and the developing countries. During his Bonn visit, he sought cooperation of the German government for the development efforts in Bangladesh.

In this regard Mr. Chowdhury mentioned that West German President would pay a state visit to Bangladesh, firstever by an FRG head of state next month and that would help further strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries.

Besides his talks with the German Foreign Minister, Mr Choudhury also met the German President during his visit.

From Bonn Mr Choudhury flew to Colombo to begin his official visit to Sri Lanka and had talks with Foreign Minister A.C.S Hameed on bilateral matters. Botn Bangladesh and Sri Lanka being members of the SAARC reviewed the post-summit developments in the South Asian region.

He and the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister discussed the possibilities of direct air links between Dhaka and Colombo and said, "the issue was being considered at the highest level now."

Mr Choudhury said President Ershad was likely to pay a state visit to Colombo in near future and the date was being finalised according to the convenience of the two government after the postponment of the earlier scheduled visit in 1983. He also called on Sri Lankan President during his visit.

The Foreign Minister later visited Male, the capital city of the Maldives and had 'fruitful talks' with his counterpart Mr Fatullah Jameel on bilateral matters besides other regional issues under the SAARC.

Mr Choudhury had detailed discussions on expanding bilateral cooperation and trade with both the foreign ministers of Sri Lanka and the Maldives in Colombo and Male and they were equally keen to have increased bilateral trade and cooperation through the regional forum 'SAARC.'

The Foreign Minister told a questioner that President Ershad would undertake a post-summit visit to all the SAARC countries adding "some would be working visits and some state visits."

Mr. Choudhury also faced volley of questions on internal politics as he himself is a presidium member of the government party, Jatiyo Party.

Mr Choudhury evaded a number of political questions put by the newsmen saying loughingly "I was away from the country for 17 days and better you can tell me the developments."

Immigrants from Assam, British Attitude

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 22 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Excerpts]

Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury on Tuesday said that Bangladesh would throw out anyone illegally coming inside its border from Assam

He was talking to newsmen at the Foreign Office on Tuesday after his return home from attending the 16th Islamic Foreign Ministers conference in Morocco.

Giving his reaction at a Press conference on the recent comment by the Indian Home Minister regarding pushing of post—1971 Bangladeshi immigrants from Assam the Foreign Minister said "We shall throwout each one of them". He categorically denied about the existence of any Bangladeshi immigrant in India after 1971.

The Foreign Minister said that millions of people had to go to India from Bangladesh during the War of Liberation in 1971 but they all returned home after independence and that was confimed by the late Indian Prime Minister in the Indian Parliament in 1972. He observed that no Bangladeshi would like to become an illegal immigrant in Assam as life in Bangladesh was still more convenient and attractive He questioned why people from Bangladesh should go to Assam while they could earn more in Middle East and other places.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury on Tuesday said that Bangladesh steadfastly stood for the unity of the Muslim Ummah & she had no intention to participate in the sanctions by the United States agains Libya.

Bangladesh he added, was with the UN sanctions against South Africa. SSSAF

The Foreign Minister termed the question regarding the possibility of any attack on Libya by the Unite States as hypothetical' He said that Bangladesh was always against any type of aggression.

Referring to the discussions at the 16th ICFM meeting Mr. Chowdhury said that the demand for withdrawal of the 'occupation army' from Afghanistan, an end to Iraq-Iran war and a united move to resolve all the problems among the Muslim countries dominated the For declaration. He stressed the need for strengthening the OIC for tackling the problems and challenges facing the Muslim countries.

Blood test humiliating

Asked to comment on the British plan for blood tests for issuing entry certificate to the dependents of Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK the Foreign Minister rejected this idea as "unrealistic and humiliating". He termed this proposition as an "invasion of privacy and a violation of the UN Charter on Human Rights".

The Foreign Minister described his visit to West Germany, Sri Lanka and Maldives as fruitful. He informed that the West German government had assured him of continuing their support to the devolopment work in Bangladesh. He said that the Dhaka-Bonn relations would further be consolidated by the first ever visit by a German President who is coming here next month.

In Sri Lanka he called on President Jayewardene and discussed with Sri Lankan Foreign Minister about the feasibility of establishing direct air link between Dhaka and Colombo. Referring to his talks with his counterparts in Sri Lanka and Maldives, he said that both the countries were eager to further expand cooperation with each other through SAARC.

In reply to a question the Foreign Minister said that President Ershad had plan to visit all the capitals of the SAARC countries during his tenure as the first Chairman of SAARC, the dates of the visits would be worked out

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CSO: 4600/1403

MALAYSIAN DELEGATION LEADER MEETS WITH PRESS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Jan 86 pp 1, 10

[Text]

Bangladesh and Malaysia have identified new areas of cooperation in fields of joint ventures and trade promotion. The joint ventures between the interested parties of the two countries are expected in areas such as palm oil processing and processing of rubber products.

This was disclosed at a Press conference at a city hotel in Dhaka on Saturday by Mrs Datin Paduka Rafidah Aziz Malaysian Minister for Public Enterprises. Mrs. Rabeya Bhuyan Minister for Social Welfare and Women's Affairs, was also present at the Press conference.

Summing up the outcome of her six-day visit as the leader of a 20-member Malaysian delegation to Bangladesh, the Malaysian Minister said that the visit had succeded in identifying the areas of action for forging closer bilateral relations between the two Muslim countries.

Replying to a question Mrs Rafidah Aziz observed that detailed feasibility studies would be needed before any decision about joint ventures and investments was taken.

She said that the trade delegation accompanying her, achieved success in discussing and negotiating the possibilities for bilateral trade promotion and industrial cooperation.

About the palm oil imports and quality aspects of the sam the Malaysian Minister obser that 80 per cent of palm oil ports by Bangladesh from laysia were at present being routed through the third countries Direct off-take of palm oil from Malaysian sources would not only improve trade relations but also ensure on the elimination of any possibility of supply problems and quality discrepancies she felt She also suggested for establishment of direct shipping services between the two countries on a regular basis.

Replying to a question on the immediate prospects for manpower exports from Bangladesh for the agricultural sectors in Malaysia, the Minister said that the Malaysian economy was experiencing now an acute problem of unemployment both because of domestic recession in some sectors and reverse migration of Malaysian labourforce from Singapore as a fall-out of the troubles in Singapore economy. "We have to accommodate our unemployed labour force first" she said.

About imbalances against Bangladesh in its bilateral trade with Singapore, she said that her delegation pursued the possibilities of importing a number of products especially potatoes, fresh vegetables, marine products, tea and newsprint from Bangladesh. She emphasised the need for consistency and regularity of supply of such items from Bangladesh. She also noted that there was a potential market in Malaysia for jute products, particularly carpets, and felt that the reduction of the import duty on jute carpets from 40 per cent to only 10 per cent by the Malaysian government would provide the impetus in this context.

The Malaysian Minister stressed the need for more aggressive promotional and marketing effort by the exporters in Malaysia.

Referring to the divers range of discussions between the two sides, she noted that there was a wide scope for cooperation between the two countries through joint-purchasing of raw materials and joint marketing of products to obtain better export prices and ensure lower import costs. Such cooperation, she pointed out, is envisaged between the trading houses of Malaysia such as Mitco, Mattra and the TCB.

About technical cooperation, she said that the National Petroleum Company of Malaysia, Petronas, had agreed under the Malaysian Technical Cooperations Programme (MTCP) to accept personnel from Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation (BPC). The Malaysian Ministry of Public Enterprises has also extended an invitation to the officials of Bangladesh to study and exchange experiences on the monitoring of public enterprises.

Mrs. Rafidah Aziz commended the women leaders and social workers in Bangladesh for their works at improving the status of Bangladeshi women particularly those in the rural areas. She noted that there were obvious similiarities between Bangladesh and Malaysia in the efforts to integrate women in the development process.

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CSO: 4600/1410

HOLIDAY INTERVIEW WITH BEGUM ZIA REPORTED

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 17 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazi Montu]

[Text]

BNF Chief Khaleda Zia has announced the reconstituted national council and national executive committee of the party at a time when it stands at the crossroads of its destiny.

The party still remains confronted with the questions as to whether its leaders will be able to build it as a strong and consolidated party or will it perish in the course of time due to onslaughts from outside it and intra-party intrigues.

Khalada Zia alleges that her "party is the only target of this government since the party is deeply rooted in the masses in every nook and corner of the country. This government believes that it will be able to cling to power if the BNP can be destroyed."

Pointing to the deserters of her party she observes, "A party becomes stronger when the conspirators and fortune-seekers leave it."

Talking to Holiday on Wednesday she said, "If anybody deserts the party in the future he will court his isolation from the people and find himself jettisoned like a fossil."

In the last 33 months the party has undergone a series of splits and many stalwarts of the party have shifted their allegiance from the BNP to the government.

Commenting on them Mrs Ziaur Rahman said, "In the past their speeches were suffused with the spirit of dedication for the people and the party, but it has been proved that to all of them the basic temptation is just the thrill of power for self-aggrandisement."

She seems to be very cautious in selecting the office-bearers of the party who will be entrusted with the task of steering it in the future as suspicion still lingers about the role of some front-ranking leaders in the party.

According to the constitution of the party, there are 33 offices in the national executive committee which is constituted with a maximum number of 185 members.

Begum Zia announced on Wednesday a 15-member national standing committee, the national executive committee and other committees.

Lt. Col. (retd.) Mustafizur Rahman has become secretary general of the party replacing Badruddoza Chowdhury who had already become inactive.

The presidents and general secretaries of the district and thana committees of the party who spoke at the extended meeting of its central bodies on January 12 demanded appointment of an active and dynamic secretary general.

Obaidur Rahman was also an aspirant for the second highest position of the party. His case was supported by a segment of the party led by Abul Hasnat and Jamaluddin Ahmed. Jamaluddin Ahmed has come into limelight again after a long period of inactivity.

Obaidur Rahman and Abul Hasnat have found place in the reconstituted standing committee while Jamaluddin Ahmed has become one of the vice chairmen.

Khaleda Ziaur Rahman hopes that the reconstituted national executive committee of the party will lead the people in intensifying the mass movement for restoration of democracy in the future.

She told Holiday that her party would not participate in elections unless they were held on the basis of the five-point demand under the supervision of a neutral government.

Asked as to how her party would put an end to the military government she said' "We are not opposed to elections. We will restore democracy through participation in elections. But without movement, free and fair elections to a sovereign parliament under a non-party and neutral government cannot be achieved."

Regarding the "neutrality" of the government, she said that her party would make public a concrete interpretation of the term.

Begum Zia said that this government could not be neutral since it could not sever its connection with the political party formed by it and announce that president Ershad would not participate in the election.

Replying to a question as to whether her party will take part in elections if the situation preceding March 1 is restored Begum Zia said, "Do you think President Ershad will cancel his referendum and upazilla elections ?"

She said, "We do not accept upazilla. And so we still call it thana, not upazilla."

She said, "President Ershad fears election. To understand his pronouncements about elections one is to know him thorougly and then can see through his scheme."

Questioned whether she wanted to overthrow the government by means of a conspiracy she said, "Had it been so, we would not have come out on the streets to carry on a movement with the people's participation."

The BNP chief said that President Ershad had belittled the War of Independence by raising the controversy over the 1972 constitution.

She said that immediately after assumption of power he had pledged to hold elections on the basis of the suspended constitution.

In reply to a question about what her party will do if the Awami League agrees to takepart in the elections she said, "Both the Awami League and BNP are committed to take part in elections on the basis of the five-point demand. None can betray the people. The betrayers are always rejected by the people."

Begum Zia said that the simultaneous movement by the 7-party combine, 15-party alliance and the Jamaat-e-Islami would continue until free and fair elections to a sovereign parliament are ensured under a non-party and neutral government.

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CSO: 4600/1399

PAPER REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS IN JATIYO PARTY

Party Fronts Named

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] The Presidium of Jatiyo Party in its meeting on Friday, named the front organisations and deputed leaders including some Ministers to head the fronts.

The name of the Juba organisation will be 'Jatiyo Juba Sangathan' and Sheikh Shaidul Islam and Mr Saifur Rahman will be in charge of the organisation. The student front of the party has been named as 'Jatiyo Chhatra Party' and Mr Anwar Hussain Manju has been given its charge.

Mr Reazuddin Ahmed Bhola Miaf has been made the in charge of Labour Front and Jatiyo Mahila Party will be under the supervision of Mrs Mamata Wahab.

Munshi Abdul Latif and Mr Ali Imam will be in charge of Jatiyo Sechha Shebak Party and Kazi Jafar has been made in charge of Jatiyo Krishak Party. Mr Sirajul Hussain Khan has been made in charge of Jatiyo Matshajibi Party and Lt Col (Rtd) Jafar Imam in charge of Jatiyo Tanti Party, says a Press release of Jatiyo Party issued by Prof Abdul Matin, Secretary General.

National Body Members

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jan 86 p 10

[Text] Names of more 100 members have been announced by the Jatiya Party for its national committee, according to a party Press release on Tuesday night, reports BSS.

The members are: Mr Mohammad Sanes, Mr Sirajul Hossain Khan, Mr Anowar Zahid, Mr Alamgir Majumder, Mr Khaledur Rahman Titu, Mr Ikbal Hossain, Mr Abdul Subhan Laki, Mr Asik Uddin Chowdhury Syed Akramur Rasul, Mr B.M. Kalimullah, Mr Asgar Ali Advocate, Mr Horay Krisno Das, Mr Alinur Rahman Khan Saju, Prof Md Yeakub, Prof Gulam Mustafa, Mr Mustafizur Rahman, Dr Salahuddin, Mr Harun-or-Rashid, Mr Nurulkarim Majumdar, Mr Md Shajahan Sarder, Mr Badruddin Ahmed, Mr M.A. Mutaleb, Prof Md Aminul Haque Miah, Mr Abdul Ghani Chowdhury, Mr Mafiz Ali, Khandaker Zahurul Islam, Mr Ataur

Rahman, Mr Anowar Hossain, Mr Md Khalid Masud, Mr Dr Abdul Jalil Khan, Mr Abul Kasim, Mr Abdul Malik, Mr Abdur, Mr Abdur Rahman, Mr Nurul Kabir, Mr Abu Zafor Mahmud Sarker Mutahar Hossain Manik, Mr Abdul Haye, Mr Mahbubul Alam Faruque, Mr Ataur Rahman, Mr Md Shahjahan, Mr Md Shamsul Haque, Advocate Shah Samsul Huda, Mr Md Mukbul Hossain, Mr A.K.M. Musa, Mr M.A. Reza, Mr Anowar Hossain Advocate Abdul Huq, Dr Rezaur Rahman, Mr Abdul Bari, Mr Abdul Hamid, Prof Mohsin-ul-Islam Harun, Mr Mustak Ahmed Samim, Mr Abdul Ghani, Mr Aminul Haque Bhuiyan, Mr Tapon Kumar Chowdhury, Mr Arefin Mutalih, Mr Karzon Ali, Mr Md Sirajul Islam, Mr A.T.M. Abdullah, Mr Abu Rejuan, Mr Abdur Razzaque Bhuiyan, Prof Yousuf Ali, Mr Abdul Khaleque, Principal Mohammad Hossain, Mr Abdul Mannan, Mr Abdus Satter, Mr Mir Hossain Miru, Mr Hafiz Uddin, Mr Abul Khair, Mr Atiar Rahman Kabir, Mr Abu Baker Sidique, Miah Harun-ar Rashid, Mr Makbul Hossain Sarker, Mr Abdul Main Bhuiyan, Mr Shamsul Alam Khokan, Mr Munir Hossain Mulla, Mr M.A. Gufbar, Mr S.M.M. Alam, Mr Abdur Rahman, Mr Amir Hamza, Mr Alauddin Ahmed, Mr Hasan Alimula, Mr K.G. Karim, Mr Abdul Gafur, Mr Abdul Kayum, Advocate Mr Amanulah Sarker, Mr Jamaluddin, Mr Azim Sarif, Mr Abul Kalam, Mr Mumin Ullah, Mr Nurul Azam, Mr Abdur Rashid, Dr M.A. Sikder, Mr Hatem Ali, Mr Abdur Rashid Miah, Mr S.M. Zakir Hossain, Mr Aminur Rahman Talukder, Mr Abul Kashem, Advocate Mr Sayed Abdullahel Oashek, Advocate Mr Z.M.A. Zabber.

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CSO: 4600/1400

PAPER REPORTS RESOLUTIONS OF BNP SPECIAL MEETING

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) in its special meeting on Monday adopted a number of resolutions which include demand for holding parliamentary polls immediately on the basis of the five-point demand. The resolutions also include simultaneous movement with 15-party alliance, seven-party combine and Jamat-e-Islami for the realisation of the five-point demand.

Presided over by party chief Khaleda Zia, the meeting demanded release of all detenus including Chhatra Dal leader Jalal Ahmed, Feni District BNP President Advocate Abul Hashem, Vice-President Azizul Huq Pintu, General Secretary Shahid Uddin Ferdous, Feni Jubo Dal leader Giasuddin Pear, Abdullah Chowdhury and Chhatra Dal leader Ataur Rahman.

Regarding those convicted under Martial Law, the meeting demanded either repeal of conviction or chance of appeal to the higher courts. The meeting demanded freedom of the Press and restoration of fundamental rights.

The BNP special meeting in another resolution demanded immediate solution of Dahagram Talpatty, Angorpota and Tin Bigha issues with India. The meeting also demanded immediate steps to stop erection of barbed wire fencing and watch towers along Bangladesh borders by India. It also criticised the memorandum of understanding signed with India regarding sharing of the Ganges water.

The meeting demanded stoppage of fatricidal Iran-Iraq war and just solution of Palestine problem. The meeting in another resolution also condemned racialism.

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CSO: 4600/1396

BNP CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES DELEGATES' CONFERENCE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

BNP Chairman Shah Azizur Rahman has called for a 'grand alliance of alliances' on the basis of only one point — bringing an end to the martial law government and replace it with an elected one.

Adresssing a national delegates conference of his party at the Dhaka District Sports Association Auditorium yesterday, Shah Aziz said that he would continue to wage a movement against the government till restoration of . democracy.

In a resolution the conference called for building up national unity on one point including the national five-point demand. It demanded a "return to the political and administrative situation existing prior to the March 1, 1985 like the dissolution of the party cabinet, folding of martial law courts and revival of the human and fundamental rights on the basis of the suspended constitution".

Shah Aziz criticised the President for addressing the recent public meeting of the Jatiya Party at Baitul Mukarram square and advised him to join politics after resigning from the army.

Referring to the demands of the Seven-Party and 15-Party Alinaces and Jamaat-e-Islami for a neutral and caretaker government as their pre-condition to participante in elections Shah Aziz said he also held the same view.

He said the Government flouted an agreement with him when his party joined the Jatiya Front that polls would be held by December 1985 and added he had raised this issue on September 10 last year, and it meant their departure from the now dissolved front.

Shah Aziz also referred to the remarks about the legality of the 1972 constitution and observed that if some one considered it illegal then the 1972 constitution should also be deemed as illegal. Shah Aziz also termed the present governments as illegal.

Pointing to the newly formed Jatiya Party, which included a faction of his party Shah Aziz said that the new party would not be able to take off just as its predecessors like the Janadal and the 18-point council failed to do so.

Shah Aziz refrained from making any comment on Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina or any one else other than the government. He said that his party had been in the five-point movement and this would continue. Stressing the need for a grand alliance on one issue, Shah Aziz called for unity of all including CPB and Jamaat-e-Islami on one point.

Shah Aziz also lent his party's support to the SKOP's programme on February 2 and half-day programme on February 3.

In a written speech, Shamsul-al-Ameen, Secretary General of the party, explained in depth the partys' stand about the now dissolved Jatiya Front. He said that Shah Aziz, despite offers of the post of "chief adviser with the status of prime minister," upheld the ideals of the party to establish democracy, remained firm on Bangladeshi Jatiyatabad, Islamic ideals and resistance to 'Indo-Soviet aggression.

He also reiterated party's stand about annulment of 25-year treaty with India, resolution of Farakka, Talpatty, Dahagram, Angorpota and border issues. He also called for release of all political prisoners including Lt. Col (rtd) Faruq and withdrawal of restrictions on weekly Jaijatra and Ittehad.

Shamsul-al-Ameen also disclosed that his party had already started working to form an Islamic united front with like minded parties. He also said that the party would launch a mass contact programme from February five to February 19.

Speaking on the occasion Senior Vice-Chairman of the party Abdul Alim said that if elections were held and President Ershad contested it, Shah Aziz would face him.

The conference was addressed, among others, by Golam Kibria Tipu and Abdul Wadud After the conference, a procession was brought out which terminated at the Jatiya Press Club.

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CSO: 4600/1412

BNP CHAIRMAN NAMES STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

In a surprise move Begum Khaleda Zia Chairman of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) has made former Home Minister Col(Retd) A S M Mustafizur Rahman Secretary-General of the party. Mr. Rahman has replaced Dr. A Q M Badruddoza Choudhury who has been made number two Vice-President.

Begum Zia also nominated the 15-member Standing Committee and the National Committee The members of the Standing Committee are ; Begum Khaleda Zia Mirza Golam Hafiz Dr. A. Q.M Badruddoza Choudhury Mr A S M Mustafizur Rahman Mr. Obaidur Rahman Major General (Rtd) Majid-ul-Huq Mr Saifur Rahman Mr. Abul Hasnat Mr Abdus Salam Talukdar Mr. Emran Ali Sarker Col. (Rtd) Oli Ahmed Advocate Delwar Hussain Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmed Mr. Zillur Rahman and Dr. Yusuf.

The Vice-Presidents of the National Committee are : Mirza Golam Hafiz Dr. A Q M Badruddoza Choudhury Mr. Jamaluddin Ahmed S. A. Bari AT Choudhury Tanvir Ahmed Siddiqui Mr Mahmudul Karim Choudhury Mrs Farida Rahman Mr. Mohammed Ismail Mr. Abdul Baten Sheikh Razzak Ali Dr. R.A. Gani Mirza Ruhul Amin Mr. Afazuddin Fakir and Advocate Shahed Ali.

Joint Secretary Generals are: Mr. Tariqul Islam Dewan Siraful Huq Mr. Sirajul Huq Mantu Mr Abdul Matin Choudhury Mirza Abdul Halim Dr. Khandaker Musharraf Hussain and Mrs. Shaina Khan. Treasurer Mr. L. K Siddiqui

Organising Secretaries : Brigadier (Rtd) Hannan Shah–Dhaka Division Mr. Abdullah -al-Noman— Chittagong Division Mr. Mosharraf Hossain Shahjahan—Khulna Division and Mr Rezaul Huq Sarker—Rajshahi Division.

Mr. Akbar Hossain has been made Secretary special responsibility. Mr. Ahmed Nazir has been made Publicity Secretary while Mr Harun-al-Rashid — Social Welfare Secretary and Al-Haj Siddiqur Rahman--Sports Secretary

International Affairs Secretaries are — Mr. Jamiruddin Sarkar Mr. Shamsul Islam Mr. Abdur Rab Chowdhury Mr. Shamsur Rahman Mr. Lokman Fakir Mrs Farida Hasan and Dr Fazlul Karim.

Cultural Affairs Secretary—Mr Rezabudowla Chowdhury, Office Secretary—Mr Hamidullah Khan Youth Secretary--Mr Abul Kashem Women Affairs Secretary—Mrs. Sarwari Rahman, Youth Women Secretary—Mrs. Jahanara Begum, Students Affairs Secretary Mr. A.K Mujibur Rahman Labours Affairs Secretary —Mr. Nazrul Islam Khan Agricultural Secretary Mr. Abdul Mannan Bhuyan, Swanirbhar (self relient) Affairs Secretary—Mr. Miah Mohan, Cottage Industries Secretary--Mr. Syed Manjur Hossain Mass Education Affairs Secretary- Mr Fazlur Rahman Patal, Family Planning Affairs Secretary Mrs. Khaleda Rabbani, Law Affairs Secretary. Advocate Abdul Barek Industries Affairs Secretary--Mr. Khondoker Abdul Malek, Religious Affairs Secretary--Mr Azizul Haque, Economic Affairs Secretary—Mr. Atauddin Khan Research Affairs Secretary — Mr. Salima Rahman, Relief and Rehabilitation Secretary—Mrs. Tahmina Khan, Village Affairs (gram sarkar) Secretary—Mr. Abdul Hafiz Education Affairs Secretary—Prof. Yunus,

Barrister Nazmul Huda Barrister Rafiqul Islam Begum Rabeya Chowdhury will act as Special Assistants to the Chairman.

Mr. Justice Maksumul Hakim will act as Law Consultant to the Chairman.

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CSO: 4600/1407

COUNCIL OF DEMOCRACY FORMS STANDING COMMITTEE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Jan 86 p 8

[Text] Ganatantra Parishad (Council for Democracy) has formed a 33-member standing committee at a meeting on Sunday. The objectives of the council would be to hasten the process of restoration of democracy.

The names of 24 members of the Standing Committee were announced on the day while the rest would be co-opted. The Standing Committee has been formed with Mr Ali Ajmad Khan as the convener and Mr Ali Tarek as the member-secretary. The council also announced the formation of front committees.

The members of the Standing Committee include: Mr Ali Amjad Khan, convener, Mr Ruhul Amin Bhuiyan, convener Organising Committee, Mr Harunur Rashid, convener Information and Research Committee, Peerjada Deen Mohammad, convener International Affairs Committee, Mr M. Shahjahan, convener Finance Committee, Mr Fakhrul Islam, Convener Coordination Committee, Mr Jainul Abdein Faruk, convener of Publicity and Publications, Shah Obaidul Momin, Sports and Social Welfare, Dr Ulfat Rana, Youth Affairs, Mr Iqbal, Freedom Fighters, Mr Nuruzzaman Munna, Professional Kazi Nurunnabi, Labour, Mr Mahabbat Hossain Siddique, Office and Administration, Professor Asadul Huq, Education and Cultural Affairs, Shamsunnahar Khan, Women Affairs, Mr Jashimuddin Sechasebak, Mr Abdul Baten Chowdhury, Agricultural Affairs, Maulana Amin, Religious Affairs, Mr M.R. Barua, Chittagong City Committee, Mr Golam Mostafa, Student Affairs, Mr Roushan Ali, Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Principal Nurjahan Begum and Mr Ali Tarek.

The Standing Committee was formed at a meeting with Mr Ali Amjad Khan in the chair.

The meeting decided to form district and municipal committees by February 10 next.

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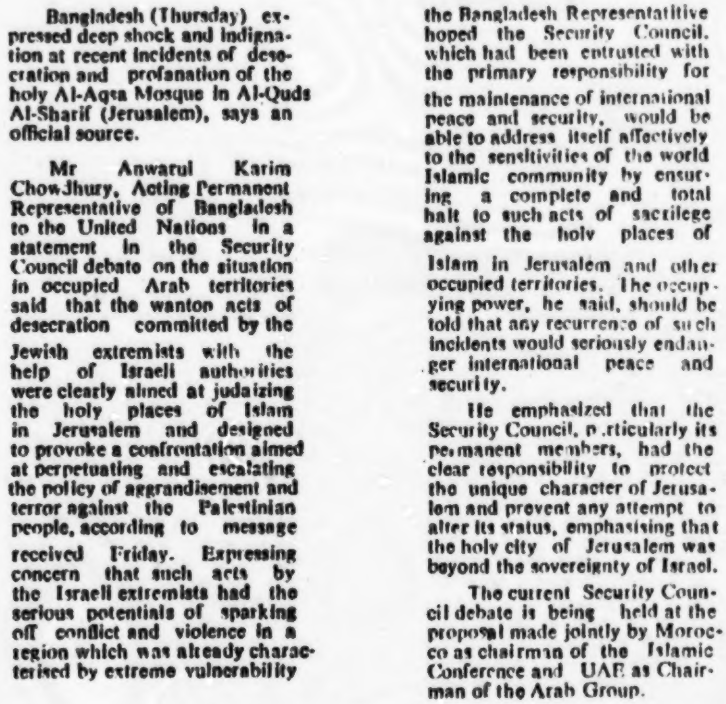
CSO: 4600/1402

UN DELEGATE PROTESTS INCIDENTS AT AL-AQSA MOSQUE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 27 Jan 86 p 3

[Text]



Bangladesh (Thursday) expressed deep shock and indignation at recent incidents of desecration and profanation of the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque in Al-Quds Al-Sharif (Jerusalem), says an official source.

Mr Anwarul Karim Chowdhury, Acting Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations in a statement in the Security Council debate on the situation in occupied Arab territories said that the wanton acts of desecration committed by the Jewish extremists with the help of Israeli authorities were clearly aimed at judaizing the holy places of Islam in Jerusalem and designed to provoke a confrontation aimed at perpetuating and escalating the policy of aggrandisement and terror against the Palestinian people, according to message received Friday. Expressing concern that such acts by the Israeli extremists had the serious potentials of sparking off conflict and violence in a region which was already characterised by extreme vulnerability the Bangladesh Representatitive hoped the Security Council, which had been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, would be able to address itself affectively to the sensitivities of the world Islamic community by ensuring a complete and total halt to such acts of sacrilege against the holy places of Islam in Jerusalem and other occupied territories. The occupying power, he said, should be told that any recurrence of such incidents would seriously endanger international peace and security.

He emphasized that the Security Council, particularly its permanent members, had the clear responsibility to protect the unique character of Jerusalem and prevent any attempt to alter its status, emphasising that the holy city of Jerusalem was beyond the sovereignty of Israel.

The current Security Council debate is being held at the proposal made jointly by Morocco as chairman of the Islamic Conference and UAE as Chairman of the Arab Group.

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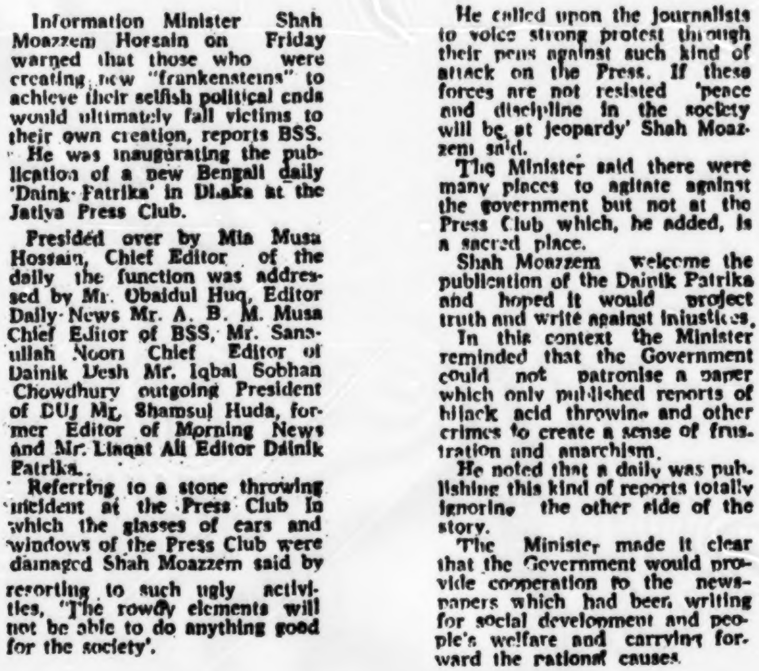
CSO: 4600/1412

INFORMATION MINISTER INAUGURATES NEW PUBLICATION

'Rowdyism' Condemned

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]



Information Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain on Friday warned that those who were creating new "frankensteins" to achieve their selfish political ends would ultimately fall victims to their own creation, reports BSS.

He was inaugurating the publication of a new Bengali daily 'Dainik Patrika' in Dhaka at the Jatiya Press Club.

Presided over by Mia Musa Hossain, Chief Editor of the daily the function was addressed by Mr. Obaidul Huq, Editor Daily News Mr. A. B. M. Musa Chief Editor of BSS, Mr. Sanaullah Noori Chief Editor of Dainik Desh Mr. Iqbal Sobhan Chowdhury outgoing President of DUJ Mr. Shamsul Huda, former Editor of Morning News and Mr. Liaqat Ali Editor Dainik Patrika.

Referring to a stone throwing incident at the Press Club in which the glasses of cars and windows of the Press Club were damaged Shah Moazzem said by resorting to such ugly activities, 'The rowdy elements will not be able to do anything good for the society'.

He called upon the journalists to voice strong protest through their pens against such kind of attack on the Press. If these forces are not resisted 'peace and discipline in the society will be at jeopardy' Shah Moazzem said.

The Minister said there were many places to agitate against the government but not at the Press Club which, he added, is a sacred place.

Shah Moazzem welcome the publication of the Dainik Patrika and hoped it would project truth and write against injustices.

In this context the Minister reminded that the Government could not patronise a paper which only published reports of hijack acid throwing and other crimes to create a sense of frustration and anarchism.

He noted that a daily was publishing this kind of reports totally ignoring the other side of the story.

The Minister made it clear that the Government would provide cooperation to the newspapers which had been writing for social development and people's welfare and carrying forward the rational causes.

Press Freedom Endangered

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 1 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Minister for Information Shah Moazzem Hossain has accused some opposition political parties of instigating the youths to commit violences on the university campus and elsewhere in the country.

Speaking as the chief guest at the launching ceremony of a Bangla daily newspaper at the Jatiya Press Club on Friday. the Minister said that these evil activities would one day boomerang on them.

Shah Moazzem Hossain said that such activities were neither designed for the transition to democracy nor could it do any good to the society. Earlier some 'outsiders' pelted stones at the Press Club.

The Minister said that some opposition leaders were pleading for an arms-free campus while ironically protesting the arrest of their supporters with arms from the varsity halls. Even under their duress a Vice-Chancellor had to resign from his post, he said.

Referring to the sensational murder of seven students of Dhaka University in 1974, the Minister said that the murderers of students were released from jail by a certain political party to conduct their election propaganda.

The Minister further posed a question, "who did kill nine people at a public meeting in the Baitul Mukarram Square?"

Turning to the question of the freedom of press Shah Moazzem said that the independence of press was snatched away by an elected government which tried to impose one party rule in the country.

The Minister said that the journalists of the country still observe a day as the day of killing the freedom of press.

He said that the efforts to hide the misdeeds of the previous regimes by creating violence would not succeede because the people would never forget the days of misrule of those parties.

The Information Minister said that a daily was focussing on only the negative aspects of the society to give an impression of disappointment and thus to jeopardise the development of the country "Government cannot patronise such campaign by giving advertisements to such papers he said.

Mr. Obaidul Huq said that a paper remained a real newspaper so long it could reflect the hopes and aspirations of the common people.

He welcomed the publication of the Dainik Patrika as he felt that the country still needed brave and honest journalism.

Mr. A. B.M. Musa said that since ours was a free society everyone had the right to speak and so we had so many newspapers after independence. He said that credibility was the best capital of a paper.

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CSO: 4600/1419

DEVELOPMENTS IN DHAKA RELATIONS WITH EEC REPORTED

Talks with EEC Commissioner

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 4 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

European Commissioner Claude Cheysson and Finance Adviser M. Syeduzzaman on Monday agreed to further widen economic co-operation between EEC and Bangladesh, reports BSS.

After their formal talks which lasted more than three hours at the Finance Ministry, ERD Secretary M. K. Anwar told newsmen that they reviewed the international economic situation and its impact on developing economies like Bangladesh.

Mr. Cheysson arrived in Dhaka on Sunday, on a six-day visit.

Mr. Anwar said the two sides were going to sign on Thursday a new food and agreement under which the EEC would provide Bangladesh 120,000 tons of wheat and 100,000 tons of vegetable oil in the next few months. A new cereal seed projects, phase two, agreement, and possibly an agreement for cotton development, Phase Two, may be signed.

Mr. Cheysson and Mr. Syeduzzaman also discussed the question of replenishment of the IDA aid at an appropriate level to sustain the flow of concessional aid to the least developed and other less developed economies.

Mr. Anwar described the talks as "very cordial" and said the two sides reviewed the entire relations between the EEC and Bangladesh.

The two sides' co-operation in the fields of economic development, project aid, the issue of commodity assistance — which is indirect support to Bangladesh's balance of payment — were discussed, the ERD Secretary said.

Describing the EEC food aid as an "important component", Mr. Anwar said this also was discussed.

The two sides, he said, reviewed all the 11 EEC-aided projects in Bangladesh and Mr. Cheysson expressed satisfaction about their implementation.

The European Commissioner, he said, made special reference to the "commendable way" Bangladesh Government utilised the counterpart funds generated out of the EEC assistance, the ERD Secretary said.

Mr. Syeduzzaman, briefed the European Commissioner on the economic development efforts in Bangladesh in general and also in the context of the third five-year plan launched during the current fiscal year.

Foreign Secretary Faruq A. Chowdhury, Additional ERD Secretary M. A. Hena, ERD Joint Secretary Dr. S. A. Samad and Foreign Office Director General, Ambassador Kazi Anwar Masud were present on the Bangladesh side. Mr. Cheysson was aided by Madame de Boumont, E. Fossati, de Villepin, Joel Fessaguet and Ludi Joseph.

HUMAYUN

Another message adds: European Commissioner Claude Cheysson and Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury on Monday stressed the need for "early resumption" of the North-South dialogue.

Mr. Cheysson expressed the hope that the spirit of Cancun summit between the developed and developing nations held in 1981 would be revived for resuming the North-South dialogue, a Foreign Office Press release said.

Workshop on Jute Goods

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 4 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Jute and Textile Minister M. A. Sattar on Monday called for serious endeavours to meet the threat of synthetics against jute causing a stagnant world demand for the fibre.

The competition, he told the inaugural session of four-day Bangladesh-EEC workshop on jute goods at Sonargaon Hotel, could be faced through ensuring stable supply and price, better quality, dynamic salesmanship and diversification of products.

He stressed on building buffer stock for jute to minimise production and price fluctuations and urged the international monetary agencies and the consuming countries to help set it up.

The inaugural session was addressed by M. Mashuqur Rahman, Chairman of BJMC, K. M. Rabbani, Secretary, Ministry of Jute and Textiles and Momimul H. Khan, chief co-ordinator of the workshop. A message of J. Fessaguet head of office of the commission.

Mr. Sattar said the principal reason for the crisis in jute industry worldwide was the technological displacement of jute by other packing materials and the severe competition among the jute producing and exporting countries.

The Jute Secretary said since many of the European countries still had significant involvement in jute industries,

"We should have mutual understanding of the various problems relating to trading, manufacturing and shipment of jute goods."

The Chairman of BJMC said that the world jute market size had reduced now by half a million tons to a little over a million ton. The loss of market in last two years was attributed mainly to the abnormally high price of jute goods for various reasons.

Mr. Rahman said that over the past decade, except 1979-80 to 1983-84, jute industry had recorded a negative return on capital employed in it. Even during pre-independence period, jute industry could not earn operational profit, but the industry was kept operational with disguised subsidy like bonus vouchers, ranging from 30 to 35 per cent, he said.

Mr. J. Fessaguet said that the European Community was the biggest trading partner of Bangladesh. "24.4 per cent of total exports of Bangladesh go to EEC member states. EEC supports a number of trade and market promotion projects for Bangladeshi products in Europe and in the international market, particularly for leather, jute and jute goods," he said.

Cheysson Meeting with Ershad

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Feb 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The visiting European Economic Community (EEC) Commissioner Mr Claude Cheysson called on President Hussain Muhammad Ershad at Bangabhaban on Tuesday afternoon, reports BSS.

During the meeting Mr Cheysson expressed the willingness of the EEC to finance projects in Bangladesh for producing agricultural implements and development of seeds. He also assured assistance for attaining self-sufficiency in food.

He said the existing ties of cooperation between the research organisations in Bangladesh and those in the EEC countries could be strengthened further and offered assistance for undertaking training and research programmes for the region particularly for the SAARC member countries.

The EEC Commissioner expressed satisfaction at the utilisation of the EEC assistance provided to Bangladesh in the form of project aid, commodity aid and food aid and said export stabilisation (STABEX) facilities by the EEC to Bangladesh will be extended to stabilise the country's export earnings. The STABEX will cover jute and certain other commodities.

President Ershad thanked Mr Cheysson for the support the EEC has extended to SAARC. He also thanked him for the support to the Sandwip cross dam project and the Jamuna multi-purpose bridge project.

The President told Mr Cheysson about the difficulties being faced by the garments manufacturers of the country to export their products to some of the developed countries.

The Finance Adviser Mr M Syeduzzaman and the Secretary External Resources Division Mr M K Anwar were present.

Meanwhile the visiting five-member EEC delegation headed by Claude Cheysson had a meeting on Tuesday with the Minister for Food Maj. Gen Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury at his office.

Gen Chowdhury briefed the delegation about the salient features of the government food policy and thanked the community for its continued assistance to Bangladesh in the food sector official sources said.

Mr Cheysson and members of the delegation commended the implementation of the project's food storage godown in Bangladesh with EEC assistance the sources said.

/9317
CSO: 4600/1421

PRESS TOLD STATE OF ECONOMY AFTER 6 MONTHS OF YEAR

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Finance Adviser Mr. M. Syeduzzaman told newsmen at a Press briefing on Wnednesday at the conference room of the Ministry of Finance that the economic situation during the first half of the current fiscal year (1985-86) was by and large satisfactory. There is no cause for any alarm or concern about the overall performance of the economy during July-December period of the current fiscal year he observed.

The Adviser gave a detailed run-down about fiscal operations external aid flows, public sector development activities imports and exports and price situation during July-December, '85 at the Press conference.

Aid disbursement 17 p c. higher

He stated that external aid disbursements during July-November '85 were 17 per cent higher than the related situation during the corresponding period last year. The food aid disbursements at 65 million U.S. dollars recorded a 100 per cent rise and projected aid disbursements at 220 million U.S. dollars a 25 per cent increase during the period under report over the corresponding period last year. There was a 25 per cent shortfall in commodity aid disbursements which agrrregated to 103 million U.S. dollars during the first five months of the current fiscal year compared to about 128 million U.S. dollars during the corresponding period last year he said. But he added, the Government made adequate availability of foreign exchange out of its cash resources to meet the import requirements in the face of shortfall in commodity aid disbursement.

About import operations, Mr. Syeduzzaman stated that the 'hard-core imports' in terms of opening of Letters of Credit (LCs) stood at 828 million U.S dollars during the first six months of the current fiscal year (1985-86) compared to 868 million U.S. dollars and 571 million U.S. dollars during the corresponding period in 1984-85 and 1983-84 respecticely. The 'hard-core imports', the Adviser explained, exclude food sugar and POL (petroleum oil and lubricants) imports. The import performance during the first half of the current fiscal year was quite satisfactory in view of overimports of cotton, fabrics, edible oil etc last year, he maintatined.

About exports the Adviser said the export target for 950 million U.S. dollars may not be attained because the export prices in case of raw jute, jute goods hides and skin tea etc have registered a decline and readymade garments exports have faced quota restrictions this year. He said that the the country's exports during the first five months of the current fiscal year stood at 351 million U.S. dollars.

Mr Syeduzzaman stated with an optimistic note that the remittances by Bangladeshi nationals from abroad during 1985—86 would exceed the projected level of 430 million US dollars. The remittances during the first half of the current fiscal year amounted to 281 million US dollars, he added.

Bank credit expands by 4.5 per cent

The Finance Adviser said that the bank credits expanded by 4.5 per cent during July-December 85 compared to 14.3 per cent and 16 per cent during the corresponding period in 1984—85 and 1983—84 respectively. He pointed out that overall credit expansion in 1985-86 would be maintained within the limit of 14 to 15 per cent in view of substantially high credit expansion at 26 per cent and 31 per cent in 1984—85 and 1983—84 respectively.

Mr. Syeduzzaman, however, noted that the recovery situation of development finance institutions like Bangladesh Shilpa Bank and Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha had not improved much. This, he added is affecting adversely new industrial investments in the private sector. The recovery situation relating to agricultural credits is also posing a problem, the Adviser noted. The overdues in the agricultural credit sector will be around Taka 600 crores he added.

About the price situation, he said the cost of living index in the urbas areas has showed a rise of 10.5 per cent and that in the rural areas 7.5 per cent during July-December, 85.

Referring to the operations in the productive sector of the economy, the Adviser said that the aman production this year was quite satisfactory. He felt that the food production target at 16.5 million tons for the current year (1985—86) would be achieved if there was no setbacks to boro and wheat production due to unfavourable weather conditions. He pointed out that the index of industrial production with 1975—78 as the base year (1975—76=100) stood at 153.39 in October, 85 compared to the average annual of 147 in 1984—85. He however felt that industrial production index would marginally record a decline in the months of November and December 85 due to labour and other troubles.

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CSO: 4600/1407

CONTROLLER GENERAL OF ACCOUNTS OFFICE SET UP

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 19 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Government has decided to abolish the offices of the Accountant Generals and set up immediately a central accounts office to be known as the office of the Controller General of Accounts (CGA).

Official sources said that the major reorganisation programme had been taken up to departmentalise accounts and separate accounts from audit.

With the establishment of the office of CGA, existing offices of the Accountant General (Civil), Accountant General (W&W), Accountant General (PT&T) and Additional Accountant General (Foreign Affairs) will cease to function.

The offices of the Accountant and Additional Accountant Generals have been reorganised into 20 departmental accounts offices and three directorates of audit. The auditing functions of Accountant Generals' offices will be taken over by the offices of Director of Audit (Civil), Director of Audit (Works), Director of Audit (PT&T) and Director, Mission Audit.

Sources said that the office of CGA would be solely responsible for preparation and consolidation of the accounts of the republic and submission thereof to the Government.

The office of CGA will receive accounts from all the departmentalised accounts offices as well as from the regional, district and upazila accounts offices.

With the creation of the office of CGA, there will be complete separation of accounts from audit and the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General will be relieved of the functions of keeping of the accounts of the government as provided for in sections 3 and 4 of the Comptroller and Auditor General (Additional Functions) Act, 1974.

The functions of the office of CGA will include: keeping of civil accounts; preparation of appropriation accounts; preparation of finance accounts; coordination of the work of Chief Accounts offices, regional, district and upazila accounts offices.

Duties of the CGA among others, will be: maintenance of a central accounting system relating to receipts into and expenditures out of consolidated fund and public account and prepare annual accounts of the Government as a whole; to act as administrative head with the responsibility of overall administration of the offices under him; to issue accounts rulings and instructions in consultation with Comptroller and Auditor General where necessary; to ensure prompt disposal and settlement of audit observations.

The Controller General of Accounts will work independently but he shall seek general guidance from the Comptroller and Auditor General on procedural matters.

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CSO: 4600/1401

DHAKA, ADB 1986 LOAN CONSULTATIONS CONCLUDE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 10

[Text] The annual consultations between External Resources Division (ERD) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) about the bank's lending and technical assistance programme to Bangladesh for 1986 concluded in Dhaka on Sunday.

The planned assistance programme of ADB until 1989 was also examined within the framework of the recently-approved Third Five-Year Plan of Bangladesh.

The ADB's Board of Directors proposed nine loans to Bangladesh for approval. However, the projects envisaged will have to meet "high technical and economic standards," and will also have to be processed in time for approval purposes. The projects include: 1) the second social forestry project, 2) the second agriculture project, 3) the Brahmaputra Gas Transmission Project, 4) the eighth power project for Dhaka distribution phase III, 5) the crop diversification project, 6) the second district town's water supply project, 7) the Khulna coastal embankment project, 8) an agriculture programme credit and 9) an energy sector studies programme.

The two sides agreed during the discussions that the lending strategy of ADB would conform to the priorities of the Third Five-Year Plan (TFYP) holding more prospects for the participation of the private sector. While major efforts will continue to be devoted to the agriculture agro-based and fertilizer production sub sectors, emphasis will also be placed in the transport sector and the social infrastructure development of Bangladesh, the two sides further agreed.

At the annual consultations between the two sides, Mr Paul Krukowski, country manager, led the delegation from the bank's headquarters in Manila and Mr M.K. Anwar, Secretary ERD, headed the government team, Dr Paul Koehling, Chief Bangladesh Resident Mission of ADB and other bank officials from Manila and the Resident Mission in Dhaka also attended the meeting.

Bangladesh, to mention here, is the largest borrower from the ADB's 'soft loan facility.' These loans carry a one percent service charge, 40 years repayment terms with ten years' grace and no commitment charge. The ADB approved till December '85 a total of 65 loans for a total of 1,819 million dollars US dollars to Bangladesh. The bank is also the aid coordinator in the energy and railway subsectors in the country.

Bangladesh has also been the largest recipient of ADB technical assistance and a total of 79 such assistance programmes had been approved by the bank as grant worth 34.5 million US dollars till December '85.

Meanwhile the main sectors covered by ADB loans in Bangladesh include agriculture (including agro-industry and fertilizer production--33 loans for 906.9 million dollars power and energy--13 loans for 539.40 million dollars transport--six loans for 148 million dollars and industry-development financing--8 loans for 119.60 million dollars).

ADB is also substantially involved in the education, public health and water supply sectors.

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CSO: 4600/1411

DETAILS OF PROJECTS TO RECEIVE IDA SUPPORT GIVEN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Jan 86 pp 1, 10

[Text]

Bangladesh will receive credits totalling 156 million dollar from the International Development Association (IDA) in support of three priority projects, according to a Press release of the World Bank in Dhaka, reports BSS.

One of the projects is designed to strengthen family planning services in the country and to extend essential material and child healthcare to the rural population.

The second project will expand electric power distribution and the third aims at increasing the production of shirmp in an effort to boost export earnings and rural incomes.

IDA, the World Bank's concessionary lending arm, is providing a credit of SDS 75.4 million (78 million dollar) for a project which supports the Government's family planning programme and its efforts to reduce the mortality rate among mothers and children.

The Government will provide 21.8 million dollar for the 214 million dollar project and grants are expected to come from Australia, Canada the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands Norway and the United Kingdom

The training of field workers will be improved to ensure wider and more effective services in the rural areas. The number of workers and rural health and family welfare centres will be increased. Medicines, medical supplies and equipment will be improved to ensure wider and more effective services in the rural areas. The number of workers and rural health and family welfare centres will be increased Medicines, medical supplies and equipment will be provided.

Public education programmes on family planning will be expanded and the training of women in vocational work and cooperative programmes will be supported. Support will also be given to non-governmental organisations involved in population activities and to research in family planning and health programmes.

Bangladesh has a population of 100 million double that of 35 years ago and growing at 2.6 per cent a year. The population density is about 600 people for every square kilometer, one of the highest in the world.

The new project will continue and expand activities started under two earlier projects, which were supported by two IDA credits amounting to 47 million dollar and 92 million dollar from bilateral aid agencies.

These earlier projects have helped to improve the quality and management of family planning and health services, raise the productivity of workers and increase the use of contraceptives through better delivery and information services.

The use of contraceptives is estimated to have doubled since 1979 to over 24 per cent. The new project aims at raising this to 40 per cent by 1990. Under the Government's previous projects, around 40 per cent of women in the mothers' club and cooperatives have accepted family planning. This proportion is well above the national average.

A second IDA credit of SDR 52.3 million (58 million dollar) will be used to finance part of a project to expand and reinforce the power transmission and distribution system of the Bangladesh Power Development

Board (BPDB) to meet forecast demand through the least costly means.

Other objectives are to stablise the system's voltage to make the network more reliable and to reduce power losses in transmission and distribution Technical assistance will be provided to strengthen BPDB's financial operations.

The project includes erecting about 582 kilometers of 132-kilovolt lines extending 16 substations to accommodate new lines, and installing two transformers in two of these sub-stations. The low-voltage distribution network in 14 towns will be extended and reinforced. And meters and metering equipment will be provided to bolster the program. me to reduce power losses.

Consultants will help to supervise the design and construction of the project. Other technical assistance will focus on improving the commercial and financial operations of the Power Development Board, on reducing power losses and on a study on tariffs BPDB's engineers and linemen will receive training.

The project, to be carried out over a period of four years, is estimated to cost 62.9 million dollar overall. The Government is providing financing of 11 4 million dollar the BPDB 12.5 million dollar and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) three million dollar.

Bangladesh will use a third IDA credit, of SDR 20.6 million (22 million) to increase the production of shrimp in the country.

The project is expected to result in an additional annual production of about 1,500 tons of export-quality shrimp and about 1,800 tons of miscellaneous fish and shrimp. Experts will generate estimated foreign exchange earnings of about 8.7 million dollar a year about 14 per cent over current earnings. The added production will also boost the incomes of farmers.

An area of about 9,500 hectares of low-lying coastal lands in Khulna and Cox's Bazar in southern Bangladesh already under shrimp culture, will be improved. The project includes constructing embankments water control structures, and shrimp hatcheries. Credit will be extended to shrimp farmers traders, and operators of hatcheries.

Support will be provided for the establishment of a shrimp culture extension service which will give operational advice to farmers. Two demonstration farms and training centres will be established. Consultants will provide technical assistance in shrimp farming, project management training engineering and hydrology, and rural development.

The five-year project will cost 36.7 million dollar overall. The Government will provide 4 5 million dollar and UNDP an equal amount. Participating credit institutions the Bangladesh Bank and private investors will provide other financing.

The IDA credits are for 50 years including 10 years of grace, they carry no interest but have annual charges (0.5 per cent on the undisbursed balances and 0.75 per cent on the disbursed balances).

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CSO: 4600/1398

DHAKA, DELHI SIGN WORK PLAN ON COMMON RIVERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh and India on Saturday signed an agreed plan of work to be done over 10 months for joint study of the Ganges and other common rivers for sharing their waters, reports BSS.

Irrigation Secretary Muhammad Ali and Indian Water Resources Secretary Ramaswamy R. Iyer signed the agreed plan at the end of the three-day meeting of the Joint Committee of Experts (JCE).

The work plan provides for holding seven meetings and field visits for the joint study which started Thursday when the JCE began its first meeting in Dhaka.

A joint Press release issued at the end of the meeting on Saturday morning said the work plan spells out the procedure and method of functioning and the schedule of activities for the joint study having the mandate to recommend a scheme or schemes for augmentation of the dry season Ganges flows at Farakka and sharing other common river waters.

Asked by newsmen whether India had any more prejudices against inclusion of Nepal for the development and sharing of the Ganges waters, the Indian delegation leader, Mr Iyer, told newsmen at the Zia International Airport before his departure for New Delhi "There is no prejudice against Nepal. There never was."

The Bangladesh delegation leader, Mr Ali, who saw the Indian delegation off at the airport said, "All possibilities were considered and the work plan, methods and work schedule prepared to complete the work of the joint study in 10 months."

Of the stipulated 12 months given to JCE when it was set up in November, eight weeks have already passed, Mr Ali said.

"We have not discussed the substantive part," Mr Iyer said, replying to whether inclusion of Nepal had been decided in view of the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's recent statement to the Press expressing Indian willingness to sit down with Nepal and Bangladesh, who already had been keen for cooperative efforts to jointly develop the Ganges waters for mutual benefit.

Replying to newsmen's questions, Mr Iyer, however, said that it was not a statement of Mr Rajiv Gandhi but that the Indian Prime Minister had expressed the willingness of his country to sit down with Nepal and Bangladesh on the Ganges question.

"All possible methods for the dry season Ganges augmentation will be considered," Mr Iyer said.

Asked when India could be expected to go to Nepal with Bangladesh or sit down with Nepal and Bangladesh for the joint study, Mr Iyer said, "Nepal is one possibility. There are other possibilities."

Pointing at Mr Ali, his Bangladesh counterpart, Mr Iyer said, "We are busy. We have so many other things to do. So for the next 10 months we have agreed on the work plan for the joint study--some agreement regarding data exchange. We have agreed on the timetable."

"These are preliminary work," Mr Iyer said.

"No possibility is excluded," Mr Ali said, answering whether Nepal has already been included for the joint study.

Mr Ali said that the problem which defied a solution in the past had to be approached in right earnest.

"We have to find out," Mr Ali said, adding, "How do we go about it."

Mr Ali described the work plan signed on Saturday as "On the whole satisfactory."

The JCE was scheduled to start the agreed 12-month joint study immediately on its (JCE) constitution on November 22.

The delay in holding the first JCE meeting which began in Dhaka Thursday last marking the start of the study, cost two of the 12 stipulated months.

JCE sources said that now almost every month there will be a meeting alternately in New Delhi and Dhaka.

The joint Press release said the JCE at the first meeting had detailed discussions in an atmosphere of "cordiality and understanding" on the work to be accomplished and time frame for its completion and agreed upon the procedure and method of functioning and the schedule of activities for the joint study.

It is said that the JCE would meet next in New Delhi in the last week of February.

Indian High Commissioner I.S. Chadha was also present at the airport to see off the Indian delegation.

/9317
CSO: 4600/1400

PAPERS REPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN JUTE INDUSTRY

Press Note on Strike

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Government on Monday renewed its appeal to the striking workers of jute mills in the country to give up their 'illegal and politically motivated strike and resume work immediately reports BSS.

In a Press Note the Government again requested the leaders of the labour organisations associated with the strike to call off their strike forthwith.

The Press Note issued by the labour and Manvower Ministry said that some sramik federations were indulging in an indefinite strike in the country's jute industry preferring confrontation by illogically discarding the path of discussions. The Government believes that this strike is totally illegal and is against the interest of national economy workers and employers it said.

The Press Note pointed out that the Jute Mills Corporation recently increased wages of the workers involving an additional expenditure of Taka 50 crore annually.

It said the Government has been repeating its appeal to call off the strike to maintain peace and discipline in mills and factories. But some labour leaders have been showing unreasonable and uncompromising attitude. This is undoubtedly contrary to the efforts to preserve the interest of the workers the Press Note said adding the Government could not remain a silent onlooker in such circumstances.

Following is the Press Note: "Abstention from work has been continuing in some jute mills of the country since December 28 as a result of illegal strike call given by Jute Mills Sramik Karmachari Sangram Parishad. It needs to be mentioned for the information of all concerned of the steps taken by the Government to end the illegal strike.

On behalf of the Government the Labour and Manpower Ministry held several rounds of talks with the concerned labour organisations before the start of the illegal strike, from December 19 to December 28 for consideration of their demands in a peaceful way. The Labour and Manpower Minister Mr. M. Korban Ali, presided over the meetings.

One day before the beginning of the strike, that is on December 27 a meeting was held with the concerned labour leaders at the residence of the State Minister for Labour and Manpower under the chairmanship of the Labour and Manpower Minister.

In the meeting, the labour leaders dwelt on the five issues as precondition for withdrawal of strike. These are: Payment of arrear wages from July 1, 1984 in accordance with the agreement of the Sramik Karmachari Oikkya Parishad (SKOP) with the Government, payment of house rent to the workers at the same rate as given to the employees covered by the Pay Commission, payment of two festival bonus on the occasion of two Eids equivalent to two months salary.

introduction of piece rate at all levels of the jute mills and implementation of incentive bonus in jute mills.

It may be mentioned in this context that the industrial sector is passing through a recession in the world market. Although the world economic recession is one of the main reasons of this situation the gradual decline in the market of the jute goods in the face of stiff competetion by the synthetic materials is the real factor for this condition. Another negative aspect of this industry is that Bangladesh alone can meet the entire demand of the jute goods in the international market. As such, the prices of jute goods have to be reduced step by step in the competitive market because of the abundance of supply in the market compared to the demand. The scopes for loss in the jute industry continued to exist because of fixation of the prices of goods below the production cost. This will be clear from an assessment of the losses and profits of the BJMC. The salary of the workers has been increased in view of the cost of living despite losses incurred by the BJMC.

The official position on each and every point raised by the leaders was explained in the context of this situation. The Government had earlier come out with an explanation about the payment of the arrears from July 1. 1984. The Government agreed in 1984 to give effect to increased salary from July 1, 1984. At that time, the labour organisations had agreed to accept Taka 460 as the minimum salary. When the increase in salary was made, it was fixed at Taka 560, which was 100 Taka more than the agreed amount. The workers will be more profitable in this amount although this will not be effective from July 1, 1984.

More than Taka 100 in fact the increase has been since there will be increase in house, rent, provident fund and gratuity because of the increase in the basic salary There is no denying the fact that the demand for arrear is no longer justified after the increase of Taka 100 in the basic salary.

An explanation about the payment of house rent to the workers like the employees of the Pay Commission was given during the negotiations. The basic salary and the fringe benefits are within the jurisdiction of the Wage Commission and the salary and other financial benefits of the Government and semi-Government officials and employees fall under the jurisdiction of the Pay Commission. As such the recommendations of the Wage Commission and the Pay Commission are unlikely to be the same since the two commissions were functioning separately. For instance, the minimum salary of the workers has been Taka 60 more than the minimum salary of Government and semi-Government employees. On the other hand, the system of house rent for the workers is different from that for the Government and semi-Government employees. All workers receive house rent at the rate of 30 per cent but this allowance ranges from 30 to 50 per cent in respect of Government and semi-Government officials and employees. This rate varies from 40 to 55 per cent in the five big cities.

On the other hand, the officers and employees of the Government and autonomous organisations provided with houses are not entitled to house rent. Moreover, they have to pay house rent from five per cent to seven and a half per cent either to the Government or to the autonomous bodies. But in case of workers they receive house rent even if they get houses and pay house rent at specified rates. As a result. some surplus remains after the payment of house rent Inspite of such a situation a Government decision to narrow down the disparity in house rent will be announced soon.

Discussioss were held on the introduction of piece rate at all levels of jute mills. This aspect was examined, re-examined and reviewed exhaustively till the last one decade. From these reviews and assessments it is clearly proved that it is not possible to introduce piece rate system. It is not possible any whene in the world to introduce piece system at all levels of jute industry. It is not possible in our country also. But the Government agreed to constitute a task force in principle to review whether some steps could be taken to remove the difference in the wages between piece rate and time rate workers. The labour leaders also expressed themselves in favour of forming such a task force but they raised the demand for giving some interim concessions to narrow down the difference in their wages It is not possible to give interim relief without first reviewing the matter closely and assessing the overall condition of the jute industry.

During the discussions demand was raised to give one bonus each on the two Eids. It is not possible to bear any additinal expenditure in this industry in view of the overall present condition of the jute industry. The question of making any additional expenditure can be considered only when profit can be earned. The Government proposed to set up a task force for taking realistic steps for the implementation of the incentive bonus. The discussions on the issue did not make further progress for immediate changes Other when the labour leaders continued their pressure for immediate changes . Other demands were described as local in character. The Government held out the assurance to remove these problems after discussions with the concerned authorities.

Bangladesh-EEC Workshop

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 8 Feb 86 p 3

[Text]

Threat posed by synthetics to jute industry, constant loss of market for jute products and the measures to stabilise the prices of jute goods, ensure their supply and to increase their competitiveness were discussed threadbare by the participants on the second day on of Bangladesh-EEC workshop on jute goods, reports BSS.

The discussions spreading over two sessions centred on jute industry of Bangladesh and its relationship with European consumers specially the state of hessian market in Europe.

A paper on "state of Bangladesh Jute Industry and overview" was presented by Mr. Salahuddin Ahmed former Jute Secretary, in the morning session. Mr Shamsul Huq Chisty, Secretary, Ministry of Establishment and Chairman International Jute Council, presided over the morning session.

In the afternoon session three papers were presented Mr. M.M. Reza, Director (Marketing), Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation, read out a paper on hessian market in Europe.

Mr. Frank Butler, President, European Jute Goods Association, and Mr. Nigel Cottam, Vice-President, UK. Jute Goods Association, presented one paper each dealing with market conditions and their significance for the manufacturers and sellers of Bangladesh jute goods.

The EEC delegates referred to different aspects of competitive European market and highlighted the need for price stabilisation of jute and jute goods, diversification of products, regularity of supply and further improvement in quality.

The participants from Bangladesh side recognishd the perennial problem of uncertainty in jute crop and its chain effect on price of exportable jute goods. They sought cooperation from European traders and assistance in improving the market of Bangladesh jute products.

Minister's Paper at Workshop

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 6 Feb 86 p 5

[Article by Salahuddin Ahmed]

[Text]

In the mid-fifties being charmed by the virtues of public enterprises and autonomous bodies, we launched Pakistan/East Pakistan Industrial Development Corporations. We had a plethora of Public Agencies like (A) Jute Marketing Corporation, (B) Jute Trading Corporation, (C) Jute Prices Stabilisation Corporation and (D) Bangladesh Jute Corporation with avowed intention to bring relief to the jute growers. After Liberation of the country we went further left—of the—centre by nationalising outright raw jute export and jute goods.

We started however rediscovering virtues of the private enterprises and magic of the free market system, in more recent years. But has all these innovations and see-saw movements been able to prevent a steep descent of jute from the world market or have these innovations succeeded in improving the lot of most of the marginal farmers ?

Raw jute availability statistics, both current year's production and previous years carry-over together, have seldom been optimum in relation to world demand conditions for raw jute and jute goods. In 2nd five year plan period (1980-85) Planning Commission projections were for 65.00 lac bales production per annum. Statistics will show that production in all these 5 years were far short of the optimum required. It also brings into clear relief, years like 1961-62, 1965-66, 1969-70 and 1970-80 when annual production roughly in the neighbourhood of 73-74 lac bales was far too much than what was required or demanded. Again in years like 1960-61, 1975-76, 1981-82 jute was produced around 40-43 lac bales only i.e. far too short of the optimum.

It may be observed there has been hardly a year when optimum required was available. Over-abundance of raw jute supply has led to very steep fall in prices to an extent that the actual cultivators in many years failed to get their expected returns, sometimes returns were even lower than cost of production. This was followed by sharp and adverse reaction by jute cultivators leading to withdrawal symptoms, lowering jute production in the following year by reduction increase and reversal of over abundant supply into inadequate and absolutely meagre supply.

When prices again shoot-up, windfall profits emerging for the middlemen bringing once against water into mouths of the cultivators, making them forget their woes and agonies not in the distant past.

This unstable highly fluctuating see-saw movement is happening almost in every one or two succeeding years making concerned Ministries and agencies swear about making buffer stocking arrangement, creating godown and warehouse facilities, making easy credits available with all jute purchasing agencies but then these are soon forgotten if not shelved as soon as the exigency is over. If instead of glut a particular year is found to be a year of too short supply and the reason for short-supply is detested in the non-availability of certified seeds or improved seeds, resolutions and arrangements are made for enhencing procurement and manufacture of more certified seeds.

But again in the following year, situation perhaps has changed and the farmer shows reluctance in buying the improved or certified seeds. A few hundred maunds of seeds remains unsold and explanations are sought from the official concerned for having procured or manufactured more than could be marketted to the farmers.

That an expenditure of about half a crore Taka for supply of improved seeds is a kind insurance premium for an industry or jute economy worth 1000 or 1200 crore Takas a years is not appreciated by the officials involved in the conventionally red-tape method of carrying business. Or perhaps, responsibility for seed procurement arrangements have in the meantime changed from one ministry to another new-found Ministry and these new agencies were not in talking terms and may have changed supply norms without much ado regarding arrangement for seed supply.

In official literature dealing with Intensive Jute Cultivation Scheme (IJCS) a casual reader will find that a case was built in that cultivation of jute was of special interest to Bangladesh providing (a) much needed cash crop for millions of farmers; (b) providing employment by farming as well as in jute industry, and (c) ensuring earning of much needed foreign exchange for the country as a whole.

But then after a few years when IJCS just started making raw jute supply more adequate as in next-four years of 1977-80, the Scheme was merged by the Government with all other crops, depriving jute special treatment already accorded.

Between 1982-84 the more industrialised and advanced parts of the world passed through a deep depression which vicariously is called the worst Recession since Great Depression days of 1929-32. USA one of our biggest buyer of jute goods—carpet backing cloth (CBC) and hessian — from where around one fourth of our total foreign exchange from the sale of jute goods is earned but in the following year 1985 when the Recession was reversed by a booming economy in the USA and the rest of the industrialised world, raw jute production 49.39 lac bales and previous years carryover (10.47 lac bales) was one of the lowest at 59.86 lac bales.

The result was we were not being able to sell as much as 25 lacs bales and we witnessed the prenomenon of jute being sold at its highest price recorded in history around 700-800 Taka maund. Jute goods with such high cost raw jute component were priced out by synthetic substitutes and markets thus lost might have been lost for ever for Bangladsh jute, not to speak of loss in both public and private sector mills of around 200 crore Taka in that year only.

We have to consciously plan a strategy to implement the same by devising a workable mechanism and meticulously working out an implementation plan. Because of previous years carryover of jute, in some years we might need as low as 50 lac bales, again in some other years in absence of such high carryover, we might increasingly need as high as 75 to 80 lacs bales of raw jute. One way to ensure a steadying factor is to work out a buffer stocking arrangement even though it is to be financed, organised and operated exclusively by Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Jute Corporation (BJC) may take a leading role for creating a buffer stock. A Jute Price Stabilisation Fund may be created as an independent unit with Jute Ministry as the co-ordinating authority. As financial institutions share prosperity of good marketing conditions, as well as the reverse of it, the financial burden could be shared by banking institutions and the Government including jute and jute goods corporations and their private counterparts all of whom have a stake in jute economy.

Let us have a quick resume of jute goods production and exports in the recent past.

i) The best production years during Pakistan phase of jute industry may be grouped between 1965-70 (See 'A', Table—III—Annexe C). During these 5 years a total of 24,27,918 tonne of jute goods were produced which gives actual average production of 4,85,584 tonne per annum: although in 1969-70 the highest production in pre-liberation Pakistani days was achieved at 5,69,509 tonne.

ii) In post liberation period, we better totally omit 1971 and 1972 from consideration being extremely disturbed years. Between 1972-77 a total 23,96,667 tonne (See 'B', Table—III—Annexe

C) jute goods were produced and actual annual average production comes to 4,79,333 tonne which is marginally less by about 6,000 tonne in comparison with those of 1965-70 quinquennial average.

iii) Jute goods produced between 1977-82 (See 'C', Table—III—Annexe-C) comes to a total of 2,72,928 tonne and the quinquennial average comes to 5,54,586 tonne. Production during this period registered an impressive increase of an average 69,002 tonne per annum. Production in 1980-81 as well as 1981-82 far exceeded the Pakistani best in 1969-70.

iv) In 1982-93 (See 'D', Table — III — Annexe C)— 5,69,853 tonne were produced which is equal to 1969-70 attain in Pakistani phase. In the other subsequent 2 years far less was produced as can be seen (Table — III(D) — Annexe-C).

v) In 1969-70, 5,62,012 tons were exported which is the best ever during that regime. In 1977 — 5,30,75 tons were (exported: in 1980-81— 5,01,436 tons; in 1981-82— 5,37,355 tons and in 1982-83— 5,14,116 tons were exported. Subsequent 2 years export figures are far behind.

Although it was not my intention here to gloat over performance in post-liberation phase nor to draw adverse comparisons under nationalisation and private phases, my contention as a citizen and as a student of economics is that, this debate is irrelevant and the villain of the piece is demand constraint vagary of supply and cut-throat competition from synthetics aggravated by adverse terms or trade for Bangladesh and sole dependence on its one commodity for the bulk of its foreign exchange.

Demand trends for jute goods will reveal that consumption of jute and jute goods have been progressively decreasing in the industrially advanced countries where synthetic substitutes have very effectively replaced jute an the situation has been only partially mitigated by increased consumption of jute goods in the socialist countries of the world and the rest of the developing countries.

Synthetic substitutes like polypropelin have snatched away large chunks of the existing markets and also substantial share of the emerging newer demands especially in the carpet backing (CBC) sector that have been growing at a considerable speed in the industrially advanced countries. As against a generally gloomy picture and none-too-happy international trade situation marred by restrictive tariff and non-tariff barriers, Bangladesh indeed managed to hold its own jute trade share to a large extent until very recently.

To quote an Editorial of the Business Standard, Calcutta in its issue of June, 1982 it said "Bangladesh due to her better varieties of jute, lower labour costs and more modern machinery are having a better position in the world jute goods market than India. The Indian jute goods traders should concentrate more on home market than abroad since it is not possible to compete with Bangladesh in the global market" (The New Nation, Dhaka, dated 28-7-82—reproduction).

Against the back ground of declining demand for jute and jute goods globally, we have the other more depressing phenomenon whereby the poor primary producing developing countries are perenially trading with developed industrialised countries on unequal terms of trade, draining away their meagre resources which is hindering growth and development. Jute price which was say 100 Taka in 1970-71, in constant real price become Tk. 64 in 1978-79 and today it is even worse.

We are giving away more and more raw jute and jute goods to buy same quantity of manufactured goods from developed affluent countries.

Bangladesh depending practically on a mono-crop and a mono-industry for the bulk of its foreign exchange has to feel the pinch more than any other producing or exporting countries in the world. Without solving such basic problems, countries like Bangladesh cannot attain a self-sustaining economy. It has been estimated that a buffer stock varying between 7 and 8 lac bales as a floor and 14/15 lac bales as a ceiling could have a cost component of Tk. 100-125 crores.

It has been variously estimated that some Tk. 50/60 crores went down the drain mainly in years of plenty and low jute price for the benefit of unscrupulous jute buyers who pocketed the difference between Statutory Minimum Price (SMP) and the actual market price and that this amount if it could have been earmarked/envisaged could have gone a long way to build up a really well thought out planned buffer stock for Bangladesh.

If the baleful effects of excess supply could be segregated imaginatively with the buffer stock mechanism then, as is customary, the meagre availability as a result of climatical vagaries or fluctuating economic swing sometime in favour of rice in some years followed by its reversal in favour of jute in some other years not only on the raw jute front but also on the jute goods front would have given us several great economic advantages or satisfaction in a row. With every Recession such as we witnessed in 1974-75 and the recent one in 1979-80 (and every prognostication of the recession getting deeper and deeper), we would not have been required to resort to production cuts.

With 50/60,000 rolls as of CBC unlifted stockpile in SAVANNAH (USA) Port which was enough to feed next 3/4 months' total US CBC requirement, we were forced to resort (and make intelligent use of the opportunity made available) to large scale replacement of long neglected machinery but such partial stoppage of work aggravates the already gloomy unemployment situation of the country.

Our power failure is chronic and it would seem that even with frantic attempts to rectify the situation we may have to live with it for a while. So, some stockpile of finished jute goods would have come to our rescue in meeting with confidence our international obligation, in the event of temporary power failure/shortage.

Availability of such stockpile would have also sobered down the indisciplined labour leaders trying to fish in troubled waters. While we charge industrialised countries producing, consuming and importing synthetic substitutes in preference to natural fibre goods at home we find Government Agencies like BADC imports huge quantity of fertiliser, packed in synthetic bags could have been procured in bulk and packed subsequently in jute bags at the unloading point and thus domestic consumption of jute goods could have been increased to a considerable extent.

Such procedure for procurement of fertiliser in synthetic bags, whatever might have been the exigencies cannot auger well for a sound jute economy .Does it need to re-iterate that such incongruities need to be banned unless we talk with our "tongue in the cheek" ?

Formation of the International Jute Organisation (IJO) while it will be idle to expect that all the woes would have vanished the moment it was functioning, it would be appropriate . to expect that IJO would at once start off with a number of studies in different directions specially in the real market promotion and demand conditions, projections for future (a) in the developed countries (b) in the socialist countries and (c) in the developing countries.

A study about the possibilities of diversification of products in the light of studies in Research and Development (R & D), another study into removal of restrictive conditions and tarrif and non-tarrif barriers and remedies thereof should also be launched at the earliest.

A global study on jute and jute goods, whether IJO does it or not has to be done by Bangladesh.

/9318
CSO: 4600/1396

TEA PRODUCTION RISES, EXPORT TERMED UNSATISFACTORY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 20 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Chittagong, Jan 19--Tea production in the country relatively picked up last year.

The production last year totaled over 43 million kilograms as against 38 million kilogrames in the previous year.

According to Tea Board sources, the current year's production target from 152 tea gardens of the country was fixed at 44 million kilograms. But the present pace of production gives the impression that the total production will not fall behind the target.

Last year the total production included two million kilograms of tea from about eight thousand acres of plantation of eighteen Chittagong tea gardens. The average per acres production in Chittagong tea gardens stood at 250 kilograms. The price of tea in Chittagong auction on average fetched about Tk 60 per kilogram last year. Compared to the average national tea price, Chittagong tea in the auction fetched an average of only Taka 44 per kilogram last year.

The export of tea from Bangladesh also registered an increase last year. The total export of tea from the country last year stood at 32 million kilograms as against an export of 24 million kilograms in the previous year. The total export target for the current fiscal year was fixed at 34 million kilograms.

Export

In comparison with the rate of production the export performance is not satisfactory. The sudden fall in export to the biggest consumer--Pakistan--is said to be the reason for poor export performance. However, the quantum of export to Pakistan has been gradually picking up. A tea delegation from Bangladesh recently visited Pakistan to sort out the problems facing the two countries over tea trade. The situation has further improved with the start of tea export to China from Bangladesh.

The tea planters are optimistic of better production this year. The prospect of production however, predominantly depends on rainfall. The import of 5500 tons of sulphate ammonia fertilizer for use in tea gardens will help achieve better crop production this year.

Fertilizer

To ensure quality tea two central factories will be set up at Dantmara of Chittagong and Juri Valley of Sylhet. The less developed gardens will be benefited by manufacturing its crops from these central factories at a cheaper and economic rate. The EEC sanctioned a grant for setting up these factories.

The Government has decided to give long term lease of vacant land in 25 tea estates where fresh plantation of tea would be undertaken. More gardens will soon get long-term lease of their vacant land to undertake plantation.

/9317
CSO: 4600/1402

BEGUM ZIA SPEAKS ON TROUBLE IN UNIVERSITIES

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

BNP chief Begum Khaleda Zia has called upon the students to build up united resistance and movement against the government for freeing the educational institutions including the universities from arms.

Addressing a rally of students at Jahangirnagar University yesterday she said that the "illegal" government had supplied arms instead of books to the students. Consequently, the educational institutions have turned into theatres of terror, she added.

Presided over by Monir Ahmed, President of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal Jahangirnagar University Unit, the rally was addressed, among others, by BNP Secretary General Mustafizur Rahman, Joint Secretary General Shahina Khan, Student Affairs Secretary Mojibur Rahman and central acting President Shamsuzzaman Dudu.

Prior to the rally, the conference of the JU unit of the student wing of BNP was held. A 41-member committee of the unit was formed with Saiful Islam as its president.

Referring to the violence on the campus, Begum Zia said that there was no congenial academic atmosphere on the campuses which had been in the grip of in a state of disorder.

She said that while the students were carrying on a movement for people-oriented education and congenial academic atmosphere, the government had unleashed a wave of repression to suppress the legitimate demands of the students.

Begum Zia said that this government had detained students to stifle the movement. She demanded unconditional release of all student and political detainees including Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal General Secretary Jalal Ahmed, Niru and Bablu.

Referring to the economy of the country, the BNP chief said that under continued martial law the economy of the country had virtually collapsed.

She said that the prices of agricultural inputs had increased and the peasantss had been pushed towards destruction as they were being continuously fleeced and denied fair prices for their produces.

Begum Zia said that industrial production had suffered severely and foreign goods had flooded the local market.

She said that due to deteriorating economy, the law and order situation had worsened and there was no security in the society. This situation should not be allowed to continue and the country and the nation had to be protected, she added.

Begum Khaleda Zia said that her party had been waging the five-point movement for establishment of a representaive government and bringing about an end of martial law.

/9317
CSO: 4600/1412

BRIEFS

OUTER SPACE TREATY--Bangladesh has acceded to the treaty on principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and the use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies' outer space treaty citing a Foreign Office press release, BSS reports. The treaty prohibits placing in orbit around the earth of any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, the installation of such weapons on celestial bodies, or the stationing of them in outer space in any other manner. The establishment of military bases, installations, and fortifications, the testing of any types of weapons and the conduct of military manoeuvres of celestial bodies are also forbidden. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 22 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY--The newly formed National Awami Party after the merger of NAP (Harun) Jatiya Ekata Party (Altaf) and a faction of NAP (Mozaffar) on Thursday formed a 9-member team for carrying out various organizational activities. Pankaj Bhattacharya has been entrusted with the responsibility of organisational matters, Sardar Abdul Halim will look after public relations, Azizul Islam Khan office affairs, Maulana Ahmedue Rahman Azmi publications, Suranjit Sengupta coordination. Advocate Ali Haider Khan students and youth affairs, Advocate Zakir Ahmed finance, Kamal Haider publicity and Nazrul Majid Belal will look after cultural affairs. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 Feb 86 p 3] /9317

JANADAL LINK DISOWNED--Jatiyo Party leader Mohammad Abdur Rab who was joint law affairs secretary of now-defunct Janadal has expressed his surprise at the mention of his name as a signatory to a statement issued by 21 Janadal leaders. He said that he had become a member of the national committee of the Jatiyo Party with the merger of Janadal with it. He said that there was no existence of Janadal with the formation of Jatiyo Party upon inspiration by President Ershad. He also said that the activities of those who had issued the statement on behalf of Janadal were conspiratorial. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 25 Jan 86 p 3] /9317

15-PARTY PROTEST--The meeting of the 15-party alliance held yesterday with JSD (Siraj) President Shajahan Siraj in the chair protested against censorship on the news. A resolution of the meeting said that while censorship was imposed on the news of the opposition, the newspapers were compelled to publish the government statements. The resolution said that this situation could not be allowed and it had become an urgent task to fight for freedom of press together with the journalists and employees of the newspapers. The Alliance said that it would announce a direct action programme along with different professional groups if any response from the government side to the demand of the alliance in connection with the President's remarks was not available by today. It has invited the leaders of different classes and professional organisations to a meeting at 4 p.m. today at the DDSA auditorium to exchange views. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 19 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

EXPULSION FROM BNP--BNP Chief Begum Khaleda Zia has expelled Mr Noor Mohammad Khan from the organisation 'for violation of party discipline and anti-organisational activities.' His primary membership has also been cancelled, according to a party press release. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

TOAHA DEMAND--Comilla, Jan 12--Samyabadi Dal chairman Mohammad Toaha has said the newly formed Jatiya Party is a house of cards which may collapse in a simple storm. Mohammad Toaha was addressing a workers conference of his party at Birchandra Town Hall this evening chaired by the chairman of comilla brace of the party Abdur Rashid. It was addressed among others by central leaders Asaddar Ali Dilip Barua, Khondoker Ali Abbas and Abdur Rouf. Criticizing the Government for prolonging martial law in the country, Mohammad Toaha said on various pleas it was announcing specific election dates. He demanded of the Government to form a national government with representatives from all the patriotic political parties for the interim period. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

JOINT VENTURES APPROVED--The standing committee of the National Committee for Industrial Development (NCID) has approved eight foreign investment proposals involving a total of Taka 23.45 crore including foreign exchange component of Tk 11.24 crore, reports BSS. The approval was given at a meeting of the NCID held yesterday at Bangabhaban with President Hussain Muhammad Ershad in the chair. The joint venture proposals include aluminium doors and windows, shrimp hatchery, plastic products, sewing machine, digital clocks, wrist watches and calculators, plastic gas lighters and food preparations. The foreign participants in these projects are from United States of America, United Kingdom, China, France, the Philippines, Thailand and Macau. According to official sources, after implementation of these projects they are expected to earn foreign exchange to the tune of Taka 11.94 crore through exports and save foreign exchange to the extent of Taka 4.50 crore annually through import substitution. The sources said the project would generate employment opportunities for over 600 persons. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 27 Jan 86 p 1] /9317

CSO: 4600/1413

TRIBAL LEADER MALIK KUKIKHEL INTERVIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 31 Jan, 1 Feb 86

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufazai]

[31 Jan 86 pp 1, 8]

[States Conditions to End Impasse]

[Text]

On the American role in the Afghan crisis.

The United States has its own axe to grind. It is the enemy of the Muslims the world over. It is behind every Israeli aggression, and our holy Bait al-Maqdas is still under Israel's occupation. It had a hand on the firing in our holiest of places [in Mecca] in Saudi Arabia. All the problems which beset Iran, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Libya, Yemen and the Middle East as a whole are because of American machinations.

America is all the more an antagonist of Pakistan. President Ayub once told me when I was an MNA that the Americans had advised him not to deploy troops on Wagah border in 1965 as there was no likelihood of an Indian attack, while at the same time it encouraged India to launch an attack on Pakistan at that very place. I do not want to belittle the sacrifices of the Bengalis but the United States certainly had a role in the dismemberment of Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh. America has never shown any interest in the Kashmiris' right of self-determination in a plebiscite.

America is now up to mischief in our part of the world. In its efforts to destabilise Afghanistan, it is exposing us to the cross-fire. This policy of confrontation will only enhance Pakistan's insecurity.

On the role of the Soviet Union in the region.

Can you show me one single instance of the Shuravi's unfriendliness to the Islamic world? I have already enumerated the hostile acts of the Americans [against the Islamic countries]. Shuravi are friends of the Arabs against Israel. Didn't they come to our rescue by arranging the Tashkent Agreement between India and Pakistan after the 1965 war to save us from defeat?

As for its intervention in Afghanistan, everybody is quick to blame the Shuravi but why do they close their eyes to the unwarranted interference of seven other countries in Afghanistan – United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, West Germany, China and Japan?

On the question of Afghan refugees and their role in a settlement.

They haven't come here to wage a Jehad. They don't kill the Shuravi but their Muslim Afghan brothers. The Ashrar kill, loot and create lawlessness in places where there are no Shuravi and Afghan soldiers. They destroy their country and its institutions and then claim to be freedom fighters.

Their long stay in Pakistan has threatened the country's security and created law and order problems. They are involved in the bomb blasts, which they explode with impunity in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Look at the Peshawar [PIA building] explosion. It was so tragic. By the way, why can't they be restricted to their camps according to UN regulations as Iran has effectively done? Moreover, it is time Punjab and Sind were also asked to keep some of the refugees as NWFP and Baluchistan have had enough of their share.

On the fact that he and his supporters have brought arms from Afghanistan.

It is not the first time that the tribesmen are arming themselves with Afghan arms. We have been doing so since Ghazi Amanullah's time. And you must know that Wali Khan Kukikhel is not the only tribesman who has been gifted arms by the Kabul government. In fact, our share of less than 2,000 rifles (mostly Chinese Kalashnikovs, along with some Russian Kalashnikovs and American guns) is the lowest, although (jokingly) we certainly intend to add to this score.

The others got more.(Reading from a diary) The tribesmen of South Waziristan received 8,500 rifles on 10th December 1985 through Dr Abdur Rashid Waziri and the nephew of Aurangzeb Mahsud. In North Waziristan, as many as 6,500 guns were distributed till February 2, 1985 through Niaz Ali, the nephew of the Faqir of Ipi. The total for Bajawar Agency is 6,500 and for Kurram Agency, 4,000. Maulvi Habibullah in Mohmand Agency got 5,500 weapons from Kabul. The Parachamkani tribesmen received 2,000. The Shuravi have set aside 6½ lakh rifles for us. Most of these are captured arms from the Ashrar.

On the allegation that he and his compatriots indulged in heroin-manufacturing and smuggling and other crimes.

The heroin-wallas have not even been touched. The business goes on as usual. The claim that 70 heroin-manufacturing laboratories have been destroyed is false. I can pinpoint each and every person who indulges in such activities. Only the houses and property of patriotic elements have been demolished. The dealers had the right connections, and some bribed officials to escape punitive action.

Some very high official functionaries are involved in the racket. I can name then if you like. I know who is the "King of Heroin" and whose brother is involved in international drug smuggling. If they want to locate the heroin laboratories, they will find so many of them in and around Loargai [Landikotal] I know of a businessman who worked hand-in-glove with high-ranking officials.

I am amused by the comment that no opium grows in our Agency. It has been our oldest crop and the mainstay of our agriculture. Along with sugarcane, it is our main cash crop, although 'bhang' is also grown in abundance in barani [rain-fed] lands. In fact, the opium production will be more this year. I maintain that Islam has not forbidden opium cultivation. The arbitrary ban on its cultivation has resulted from American pressure.

We are not averse to stopping opium cultivation. Our only demand is that the affected cultivators, who are mostly poor, must be duly compensated. We will not haggle on payment of compensation, although we estimate it to be more than Rs 10,000 per acre. We want that the American funds for the areas affected by the ban on opium cultivation should be spent judiciously rather than be pocketed by corrupt government functionaries.

On his political leanings and affiliations.

Our struggle is not politically motivated and there are no politics in the Tribal Areas. But if you insist I can tell you that my alignment will be with the political party which enjoys the support of 75 per cent of the country's population. I have great respect for Bhutto. He was hanged due to American pressures. His tribal policy was 80 per cent correct and the area saw major development during his tenure.

I agree in many respects with the PNP, although I feel the party has some communist affinities. We share ideas with the NDP, though its stand has not always been clear.

On the system of administration in the tribal agencies.

The system of Political Agents and Maliks is now obsolete. It is corrupt and has facilitated corruption. It is decadent too. The Maliks represent nobody. They are the servants of Political Agents and care only for their own interests.

The MNAs and Senators who represent us are misfits, as the sole criteria for their election is money. With the probable exception of Said Khan Mahsud, the other legislators we don't accept. Have they ever opened their mouth on tribal problems? Did any one of them raise the issue of the Khyber Agency operation?

I prefer a phased transition to representative government in keeping with our tribal traditions. Universal adult franchise may be an abrupt start, but it can be tried later. However, I may add that we have our tribal practices of Jirgas in our egalitarian system, which has served us so well for centuries.

On chances of a settlement of the Khyber dispute.

The new Governor [Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Hoti] seems to be a good man, unlike the past one who conducted a personal vendetta against me. We would respond if offered a chance to negotiate. We propose that a representative body, comprising among others MRD nominees, should arbitrate in our dispute. But we would certainly demand accountability of the former Governor and others who forced us to take up arms and seek shelter in caves.

Nobody is in greater need of peace than we. The operations against Afghanistan must stop from the tribal belt. This nation of 10 crore must be allowed to decide matters affecting its destiny as such decisions can't be taken solely by a few Generals.

Delay in resolving the Khyber dispute will do us no good. I have already issued appeals to the United Nations, to India, to the Soviet Union, to the OIC, and to Afghanistan about our maltreatment at the hands of the Pakistan Government. We may even decide to raise the black flags which the successive Afghan rulers gave us years back as a guarantee of their support in times of need. That will be the signal to invite their support. But we are in no hurry to probe that option.

[1 Feb 86 pp 1, 8]

[Blames U.S. For Aghan Crisis]

[Text]

WALI KHAN KUKIKHEL has listed five conditions which could form the basis of a breakthrough in the Khyber Agency impasse and lead to a resolution of the festering dispute.

In an interview with "The Muslim" at his Toda Mena hideout, the estranged Afridi chieftain said he wanted guarantees about the special and independent status of the Tribal Areas, safeguarding of the time-honoured tribal traditions, non-interference in tribal affairs, protection of the tribesmen's historical, legal and moral rights, and accountability of all those responsible for the December 1985 operation in Khyber Agency. He said there was nothing new in his demands as the first four were his original conditions while the fifth had to be appended following what he termed as "the barbaric, un-Islamic and unwarranted army action against us".

The comprehensive interview, conducted after a 1¼ hour trek in mountainous terrain from Ali Masjid up the mule track leading to Tirah, covered every aspect of the problem now afflicting the strategically important Khyber Agency.

The turbaned Malik, aged about 74 years, had wrapped himself up in a woollen chaddar to escape the biting cold and also because he was not feeling well. About 70 of his Kukikhel clansmen were also present, including his prominent supporters like Haji Guli Shah, Malik Gul Rehman and the young activist Barkat Ali.

Seated on the ground in rows and forming a cordon round their leader, these old and young Kukikhels had gathered to exchange views in preparation for the next day's grand Jirga of the eight Afridi sub-tribes, the Shinwaris, and the Storikhel Orakzais.

In a clear and precise tone, Wali Khan Kukikhel replied to queries like a shrewd politician, consulting a diary as he spoke, narrating anecdotes and occasionally smoking cigarettes. Following are excerpts from the interview conducted in Pashto:

On the likelihood and basis of a settlement in Khyber Agency.

No dispute has ever been resolved in the world through war. Decisions forced on a nation or a country never prove durable and are challenged the moment a weaker power is strong enough to undo the wrong. I have always been and still am, amenable to a negotiated settlement. I am willing for an arbitration according to Quran and Sunnah. Can there be anything more holy for us Muslims than the Quran?

Nobody has taken the trouble to hear our side of the story. We have been portrayed as traitors, killers, criminals and narcotic dealers in an unprecedented campaign of character assassination. My people know me very well and my countrymen would also be able to separate the chaff from the grain when the time comes. The allegation that I refused to accept the arbitration by Sheikh Gul Sahib [a spiritual leader of Khyber Agency] is baseless and malicious as I would be the last person not to keep my word.

How could he justify the righteousness of his cause.

My cause is the cause of all tribesmen from Chitral to Zhob. We are struggling to safeguard our identity and special status. We have not rendered sacrifices for nothing. Somebody had to take up the cudgels to put a brake on the government's creeping encroachment on our sovereignty and I am proud of assuming that mantle. I can't allow my land to be turned into a battleground and be used as a base for operations against a brotherly country.

On the quantum of support he enjoys in the Khyber Agency in particular and the Tribal belt in general.

I don't want to brag but I can safely claim that 95 per cent of the Afridis of Khyber Agency are on my side. The majority of Shinwaris, Mullagoris and Shilmanis dwelling in the Agency are also convinced that we must protect our special position. As for the other six tribal agencies, (Mohmand, Bajawar, Orakzai, Kurram, North Waziristan, South Waziristan), and the tribesmen at large, they have an equal stake in what I stand for. You may have heard of Malik Khandan of North Waziristan. We have assurances of all out support from this influential man in case of need.

We have received similar messages of support from other tribal agencies. Right now I am unable to travel to these places to argue our case and secure assistance. I am certain the whole of NWFP and all the Pakhtuns are sympathetic to our cause, not to speak of other democratic, nationalist forces in the country.

On his capacity to retaliate in the event of a major confrontation with the government.

That is a moot point. But I must tell you that our friends in Afghanistan are prepared to give us any type and any amount of weaponry. And mind you the Shuravi [Soviets] manufacture the best and the most effective ammunition in the world.

I could have immediately mobilised a few thousand of my supporters to retaliate when the authorities were destroying our houses with tanks, artillery and bulldozers. But we didn't do that, because we are not like the Ashrar [Afghan refugee] who are playing havoc with their own homeland.

Despite provocations and humiliation, we didn't fire a single shot. We didn't even explode bombs (winking) which is what the Ashrar specialise in.

On his reaction to the government operation in Khyber Agency.

We certainly didn't deserve such a callous treatment. Even the British colonialists didn't treat us like this despite our stiff opposition to their rule. To be singled out in this country of 100 million Muslims for such an action is all the more reprehensible, because we have as much claim to being faithful Muslims and patriots as the rulers.

If nothing else, they should have taken into account the sacrifices of our forefathers, who kept the spirit of freedom alive in the Indian Sub continent against every usurper.

The tribesmen's role in the independence struggle is manifestly clear, and how can they erase our contribution in the independence of Azad Kashmir? The bones of my people killed in Kashmir still serve as food for the jackals!

It was an inhuman operation. We were made shelterless in the winter cold and rendered refugees in our own land. They blockaded our area, stopped food supplies and refused admission to our patients in hospitals. The agency was under seige and the prices of food items shot up; a bag of atta selling at Rs 500 in Jamrud and at about Rs 900 in Loargai. And our only fault was that we had struggled against imperialism and for the independence of Pakistan, and also against misrule.

On repercussions of the Khyber Agency action.

It has only embittered our feelings and further estranged us from the mainstream. I think it is an American game, as it wants to exterminate all opposition in the tribal belt so that it is able to use it as the base of its counter-revolution activities in Afghanistan. As we refused to agree to turn our land into a battlefield, therefore they decided to cow us down by a show of force.

Why don't they understand that such a policy may push the tribesmen into the lap of communism? One has to look out for friends in times of adversity. But for our patience, this confrontation might have escalated. We held our hand as we don't want to fight against our own army, our own people and country. We didn't cross over into Afghanistan to internationalise the dispute as the Ashrar have done. I have no doubt that a reaction on our part to the government's injustice can trigger a Third World War. But why should we want to destroy our own children?

On the strategic significance of the Tribal belt.

It has always served as a buffer, and in the new circumstances the tribal borders have become even more important. With the Shuravi

[Soviets] so perilously close, Pakistan cannot afford instability in this area. The tribesmen have a decisive role and they can alter the weight of the scales either way by aligning with Pakistan or Afghanistan.

On his relations with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the historical and present context.

We consider Afghanistan as our fatherland and Pakistan as our motherland. We have historical bonds based on a common past, culture, ethnicity, language and religion. We are tied by the knots of kinship and blood ties. No power on earth can sever those links. Just like the Kalabagh Dam which aims at destroying the North-West Frontier Province, any snapping of our ties with Afghanistan would result in our isolation and eventual destruction.

On the Afghan dispute and chances of its settlement.

Every nation has the right to chose its own system of government. No country has the right to interfere in another's affairs. The brotherly people of neighbourly Afghanistan are capable of deciding their own future without our advice and exhortations. Pakistan should mind its own business and let the Afghans sort out the issue themselves.

The Geneva talks are of no use. There must be direct talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan. I offer my services for a rapprochement between the two Islamic and neighbouring countries. We, tribesmen, have always been shown respect in Kabul and I can safely claim that I would bring about a settlement ahead of the Geneva talks. I can even bring Babrak Karmal to Islamabad.

As for the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, I have no hesitation in saying that our experience has shown us that the slavery of foreigners is less of a botheration than the slavery of one's own people.

/13104
CSO: 4600/225

BRIEFS

NEW PIA CHIEF--The Federal Government has appointed Air Marshal M. A. Daudpota as Managing Director PIA, with immediate effect, according to a notification of January 25, 1986, issued by the Ministry of Defence (Aviation Division). He succeeds Air Marshal Wiqar Azim who has been transferred, it was officially stated today. Air Marshal Daudpota has already started holding office and is visiting different departments and operational areas for on the spot briefing and appraisal. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Feb 86 p 1] /13104

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END

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14 March 1986

Near East/South Asia Report

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14 March 1986

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

TUNISIAN DESCRIBES TREATMENT IN IRANIAN CONCENTRATION CAMP

Tunis REALITES in French 10 Jan 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Bahij Bachir: "The Tunisian Who Survived All Tortures in an Iranian Concentration Camp"]

[Text] Listening to a witness describe the scenes of torture to which he was submitted in a Third World country such as Iran becomes, in itself, a personal calvary. To experience them is to realize the extent to which the man of the "back world" is primitive, cruel and inhuman and capable of all cruelties, regardless of progress, equipment, technology, etc. The case of a group of Arab workers captured by the Iranians on Iraqi territory is a scandalous if not revealing case of the primitive behavior displayed by the Iranians toward Arabs working in Iraq.

The day of their capture, 8 June 1982, by Iranian soldiers, who were reconnoitering by helicopter for the purpose of eventual raids on Iraqi territory, and taken to the military airport of Ahvaz, a group of Arab workers, consisting of one Tunisian, 18 Egyptians and 8 Iraqis, was a day when they met with hell, for the moment they reached the military airport the 18 Egyptians were summarily executed in cold blood, on the spot, without any interrogation or trial. Their sole crime was that they were Egyptian Arabs working in Iraq for in the mind of the Iranians, particularly under the rule of the "monarchy" of the ayatollahs, any Arab who happens to be and works in Iraq is a mercenary and, objectively, a traitor who must be eliminated at all cost, particularly in the case of the Egyptians, whose government, as we know, is rather heavily involved on the Iraqi side.

The Tunisian, Mr Khemais Mohamed Hassen Kilani and the eight Iraqis were moved to the Barandak Concentration Camp (in Tehran), where hundreds of Iraqi and other Arab prisoner of different nationalities were packed in narrow cells.

Knowing that the Iranians kill all Arabs who have been captured or taken prisoner, the question is what miracle, what baraka, was able to save Khemais, our compatriot? How was he able to avoid the fate of his Egyptian brothers and companions, and why was he spared?

"Because," he told us, "I had the presence of mind not to reveal my nationality, well aware of the hatred of the Iranians for all Arabs working in

Iraq. If I had not identified myself as an Iraqi I would have perhaps shared the fate of my Egyptian brothers, for Arabs working in Iraq are considered mercenaries and traitors."

Let us recall that Khemais Mohamed Hassen Kilani was working for the Iraqi railroads. He was captured by the Iranians while doing his work. His imprisonment lasted 3 years and 8 months, during time which he was subjected to all possible brutalities and most inhuman indescribable tortures, which have turned Khemais Mohamed Hassen Kilani into a handicapped person, a hemiplegic. This young man, who was strong and hard working took the risk (so tragic for himself and his family) of going to Iraq, in good physical and moral condition, to earn a living and, perhaps, rescue his family. He was neither a mercenary nor a traitor. He was a courageous and zealous Tunisian worker, who the vicissitudes of life led to an area where moral and human values have vanished. Indeed, this former unwitting "prisoner of war" No 17040, survived all the tortures which are an affront to human conscience and a shame for those who dare consider themselves Muslims and a violation of the most basic rights of man.

Khemais Mohamed Hassen Kilani, who was recently released from the Barandak Concentration Camp through the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, is now with us, in Tunis. Taha Yassin, the Iraqi ambassador in Tunis, took the pleasant initiative of giving a small party in his honor at the Mechtel Hotel. In describing his calvary, Khemais Mohamed Hassen Kilani said: "Iranians subjected me to the most inhuman tortures. They would bury us in the snow up to our necks and throw us in water-flooded 1 square-meter cells, where we could neither sleep nor sit down. We were crucified on a huge fan which revolved at dizzying speed. The most fatal blow, the one which caused my disability, was the one I received on the neck with an electric rod, which resulted in my total hemiplegia. Among other types of torture, Kilani cited beatings with sticks and electrified cables, tear-gas bombs, use of gas which causes dizziness and vomiting, whipping, punching and kicking until bleeding began. They tied our hands to Land Rovers and dragged us along muddy and rocky tracks. I witnessed the execution of an Iraqi who had dared to say "Long live Saddam Husayn."

It is obvious, therefore, that with the help of such medieval behavior the Iranians are trying, other than through summary executions, to break down morally and physically prisoners of war. The example of our compatriot proves, if proof is needed, the savagery of the "monarchy" of the ayatollahs in Tehran, for although Khemais's calvary came to an end with his release from the Iranian concentration camp he is still facing his other calvary: his physical and moral handicap.

5157
CSO: 4519/56

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PASSPORTS REPORTEDLY STOLEN FROM GREEK EMBASSY IN TEHRAN

Athens AZAT OR in Armenian 18 Dec 85 pp 1,4

[Text] The Sunday edition of the daily APOYEVMATINI carries a report by Nasso Nikolaidhis with the heading "86 Passports Stolen from Our Embassy" and the subheading "Criminals, Terrorists in Tehran." The report says that "on 19 October a group of criminals and terrorists involved in drug trafficking stole 86 passports from the Greek embassy in Tehran."

[The report continues:] "This is the conclusion of Interpol and other security agencies which have also raised the concern that the passports may have been stolen by terrorist circles to gain entry into Greece and other countries.

"Thirty-nine of the passports stolen were granted entry visas by the Greek embassy in Tehran. Eighteen of the passports stamped with entry visas belong to Armenians, and the rest belong to Iranians and Arabs.

"It is significant that two of the passports, which may or may not have been stamped with visas, belong to handicapped persons, and four others belong to their relatives.

"All Greek entry and exit checkpoints, such as airports and ports; authorities in the northern border regions of Kipous and Evzonous and all security forces have been notified of the names on the stolen passports in case any one of their "holders" shows up.

String of Burglaries

"This latest break-in into our embassy, which was revealed today, is the second such incident in two years; it is also the second burglary incident in Greek embassies in the Middle East in the last few months.

"Last year, 'unidentified persons' posing as postal employees stole our embassy's mail in Ankara. Although at that time the Greek government tried to downplay the incident, the Turkish government did not pay much attention to Greece's official protests because it is believed that this incident was resolved by the intelligence agencies of the two countries.

"What should be of significance is that offices in our Tehran embassy do not follow security procedures properly even though several incidents have occurred in the last 3 years involving the theft of passports from European countries, Arab embassies in European countries and embassies in the Americas, and furthermore, a string of arrests has revealed that those who steal the passports use them for purposes of terrorism and drug trafficking.

"At the time of the burglary in the Greek embassy in June, the Cypriot government notified the Greek authorities that Arabs carrying Greek passports were arriving in Cyprus and that the passports were stolen from sailors who were on shore leave at Persian Gulf ports. Sailors staying over in North African ports also had their passports stolen.

"One noteworthy incident was the case of a Palestinian who was convicted by an Italian court for terroristic activities and who carried a Greek passport belonging to a Greek named Petros Floros."

Below is the list of the names of Armenians whose passports, stamped with entry visas, were stolen. This list has been forwarded by the security authorities to border sentry officials.

The list is: Hovhannesian Maras, Hovhannesian Ardavazt, Mirza-Khanian Berjuhi, Movsesian Hovhannes, Musheshian Alen, Nazarian Annig, Harutunian Garabed, Keshishian Aida, Shakhurian Suren, Yeghiayan Victor, Yeghiayan Shahin, Sarvarian Katrena, Der Hovhannesian Hovagim Arek, Iskandarian Hasmig, Arakelian Krisdapor, Aprahamian Hasmig, Siranosian Hrant.

9588
CSO: 4605/21

TURKEY SEEKING 'NEW POLICY' TO COPE WITH ARMENIAN QUESTION

Athens AZAT OR in Armenian 14 Jan 86 pp 1,4

[Text] Editor's note: MILLIYET's 18 December edition carries an article by Mehmet Ali Birand, who talks about an important issue, namely the issue of "gaining time." This new element in Turkish policy must not escape the attention of the Armenians, who must decide accordingly their future steps and plans to pursue their cause.

Armenian organizations that have been campaigning against Turkey wish to see Ankara react strongly against its Western allies so that a deterioration may result first in its relations with its European allies and later its ties with the United States.

In other words, through these provocations they would like to bring about a gradual isolation of Turkey and a growing bitterness between Turkey and its allies. They want to create such a situation, that is, to alienate Turkey from the West, because it would be much easier to demand compensation or territory from a Turkey that is isolated and grown bitter with its allies than from a country that is surrounded by friends.

Consequently, Turkey must be careful not to be fooled by such conspiracies and tricks. It must calculate its responses very carefully and it must think about the form, mode and degree of its responses very prudently. But frankly speaking, we must state that these calculations have apparently never been carried out properly.

It is time for Turkey to select a new approach and perspective.

Today, Turkey is confusing two issues which must be differentiated:

1) The world public opinion and the Turkish public opinion are evaluated using the same methods and the same yardsticks.

In the Turkish public opinion a void of ignorance existed with regard to the Armenian question. This void was easily filled thanks to a public which is prepared to endorse Turkish views and which does not like asking too many questions. The information that was provided was easily digested by the public despite its crude and disorganized form.

However, such a void did not exist in the foreign public opinion, because in the course of years the Armenians had filled that void with allegations of a so-called "genocide" while Turkey did not even make an appearance in that domain. Consequently, when Turkey insists today that what is being said is untrue and that a "genocide" never took place it is not enough to convince everyone. Ankara's graduated response in the last few years, its slow emergence from its shell to appear in international forums and conferences and its attempts to defend its thesis using such leading scholars as Ataov, Gurun and Soysal have begun to alter certain conceptions in our favor and something has begun to change in the world public opinion.

We believe that in time these changes will become more tangible.

2) The second instance where Turkey confuses two different issues which must be differentiated is the issue Armenian terrorism and the historical perspective of the problem, i.e. the allegation of "genocide."

Against Armenian terrorism we can always find support both from the West and the East, but that alone would not solve the problem. In fact, for us the fundamental problem is that we must first of all negate the stubborn allegations made with regard to a genocide. For that, Turkey needs time, and the best means of gaining time is the method proposed by Metin Toker, namely to open the Ottoman archives and to refute all charges in the light of the documentation in those archives. We believe that it would be beneficial to announce that all documents in the said archives would be examined and published down to the last detail.

Of course, all archives would not be opened nor would everyone wishing to see them be allowed to examine them and to use them as he likes. A group of internationally respected and trusted historians which we approve would be formed and no one would be able to object to that body.

This way, Turkey would be able to gain at least 10 to 15 years. During that time we can publish documents and papers which command credibility while establishing a new balance in the void filled by the Armenians using a systematic propaganda campaign. The least we would gain from this enterprise is that the world public would see that the issue has another side which deserves ponderance or at least some consideration in order to reach a just solution.

If such an environment can be created in the coming years there will no longer be any need to make such extraordinary efforts to defend our cause and ourselves against assaults and charges brought against us in the U.S. Congress or in the European Parliament. Otherwise, we must not forget that although the Armenian resolution has been withdrawn from Congress for the moment for strategic and other reasons and has been suspended indefinitely, it may be tabled again tomorrow as soon as the restraining pressures subside. Because neither Turkey nor Congress nor the U.S. Administration can keep up the present level of pressure; some day the issue will surely cool down and the pressures will subside. The Reagan administration cannot continue waging its campaign in its present form and remain dominant for too many months.

It is time to begin considering a long-term strategy and adopt a policy to which all the means at the disposal of the government must be committed.

EGYPT

FORMATION OF NATIONAL FRONT DISCUSSED

Goal of Front

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 28 Oct 85 pp 48, 49

/Article by Rida Hilal/

/Text/ The appeal for the creation of a "National Front" that would include the parties and the national forces is still the most important domestic political event and has not been overshadowed by foreign policy events. This might be due in one part to the fact that the Front has more than one objective condition /crisis/goal/. On the other hand, it might also be due to the fact that an agreement between the "Front's components" would reshape the political parties' map and would change the dynamics of political life in Egypt. Nevertheless, the present review of the issue concerning the Front has not defined the Front's major "goal" or its various "components." Moreover, the fact that this review is not well defined has led to an open discussion, to praise, and to criticism which some might consider as a weak point and some others as a strong point of this review.

Sequence of Events

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, a well-known writer, initiated the latest appeal for the creation of a "National Front" in AL-AHRAM newspaper on 6 July 1985. He stated that "a National Front should be established and should include all the national forces, political parties, the intelligentsia that represent the various opinions and tendencies of the people, and Muslims as well as Christians to save the nation, themselves, and their children from the horrors of sedition.

A week later (13 July 1985) al-Sharqawi mentioned that the Front's objective is "to reach agreement on a common ground" and added that all forces agree, despite their differences, on the nation's right to security and peace vis-a-vis all enemies, the right of the citizen to decent living and housing, the preservation of his honor, and the guarantee of an adequate education as well as his right to justice, equality, and democratic liberties.

Furthermore, al-Sharqawi invited the Wafd Party to form the Front. However, he called on those whom he referred to as the group of Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani to carry this mission if al-Wafd Party failed to do its part. Moreover, he urged all parties and political and social forces to impress upon its members everywhere to resist those whom he described as those who wish to incite to sedition in the name of religion. In a subsequent week al-Sharqawi added: The National Front does not mean the formation of a coalition government or vacating ministerial posts to others (AL-AHRAM 20 July 1985). He then explained the reason behind his invitation to the Wafd Party to form the Front by asserting that he did not invite the National Party to carry out this task because it is the ruling party. Therefore, he considered the opposition parties and selected the Wafd Party because it has the highest number of seats in the elected People's Assembly, it is the oldest party after the National Party, and it had previously formed a national front in 1936 (AL-AHRAM 27 July 1985). Furthermore, as a conciliatory move towards the other parties al-Sharqawi entrusted the Labor and Grouping parties with the responsibility of calling for a united Arab front.

A Stormy Debate

--The first response to the appeal for the creation of a "National Front" came from the Wafd Party. An official spokesman for the party explained that Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din called in his speech in commemoration of Sa'd Zaghlul and al-Nahas /Pasha/ (23 August 1983) for the establishment of a national front. Siraj-al-Din maintained that "the dangerous problems that the nation faces--economic, political, housing, education, public sector, inflation, and the bad conditions in public utilities--all these problems are too complex for a "partisan" government to find a decisive solution to them, out of fear of party outbidding and political maneuvering." Therefore, we can describe the initial position of the Wafd Party concerning the creation of the National Front as a positive attitude. However, the party later neglected totally the Front issue and stopped mentioning it either in praise or criticism.

--The Grouping Party, in an article in AL-AHALI newspaper signed by its editor in chief Mr Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, rejected the Front called for by Mr al-Sharqawi because he refused to define the enemy and the Front's components, and because of the vagueness of the Front's objectives. The party called for "a front against dependency, corruption, and parasitism to save national independence, to achieve democracy, to abolish the domination of one party, and to stop the deterioration in the standard of living." He added, "The Grouping Party is ready to work with any party or force that would agree on even one part of these objectives." (AL-AHALI 28 August 1985)

Al-Sharqawi's response to AL-AHALI was a surprise that changed the debate into a bitter exchange in which he stated in an article in AL-AHRAM (7 September 1985) entitled "Do Not Believe Them At All" that what the editor in chief of AL-AHALI wrote does not express the opinion of that newspaper or the party. He added, "The left is a large power rooted in the people and no one party can encompass it, and the newspaper does not represent the left and does not represent the party." He continued, "The Grouping represents a segment of the left that includes mercenaries who trade in beliefs in the same manner the Muslim extremists trade in the name of religion." As to its newspaper, al-Sharqawi belives that it is published "with support from outside Egypt that does not come entirely from leftist treasuries but might mostly come from conservative oil treasuries."

AL-AHALI's response came in its 11 September 1985 issue in an article signed by Mr Lutfi Wakid, who affirmed that what was written in AL-AHALI concerning the appeal for the creation of the National Front was sponsored by the general secretariat and the central secretariat of the Grouping Party, and that it was a precise expression of the party's position vis-a-vis this issue and was based on the discussion of the general secretariat.

--In a later development Mr Mahmud Tawfiq, the secretary general of the Egyptian Committee for Asian/African Solidarity, described the Grouping in an article in AL-AHRAM (14 September 1985) entitled "The Egyptian Left and the National Front" as the adventurous party of the left and commented that "the national left opposes the policies and the positions of the adventurous leftist party and its newspaper, particularly concerning the National Front issue."

One of the major differences that surfaced in the stormy debate is a comment made by a high official of the Grouping, with whom we had an interview that we will publish in a later issue, that the call by AL-AHALI for a front against parasitism, dependency, and corruption was made in the heat of the debate and that the party is ready to form a front with any party. Another difference was reflected in the statement of the office of the president of the Egyptian Committee for Asian/African Solidarity that what was written by Mahmud Tawfiq, the secretary of the committee, expressed his personal opinion.

A Party Scenario

--Mamduh Qinawi, member of the supreme executive committee of the Labor Party, expressed the opinion of that party by stating that the task of creating the Front should not be given to one party (the Wafd), but should be delegated to a preparatory committee in which all parties and tendencies are equally represented, and which would have a secretariat rather than a predominant authority from one side or another. Furthermore, the executive member of the party insisted that the task of the Front is "national salvation and not the salvation of any other situation."

On a different level, the leader of the Labor Party, Eng Ibrahim Shukri declared to AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI that he will call at a later date for a national front to achieve democracy.

--Mr 'Umar al-T dmasani expressed the view of the Muslim Brotherhood by declaring to AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI that he agrees to participating in the Front with certain reservations, and that he approves of the Wafd representing the Muslim Brotherhood in the Front. Moreover, he asserted that the Muslim groups agreed that he represents them in the Front.

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, a Muslim Brotherhood extremist, declared at the same time to AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI that the Muslim Brothers are trying hard to leave the Wafd.

--The leadership of the National Party has not as of this moment shown any sign of rejection or approval. The National Party had rejected a previous invitation by al-Sharqawi in 1983 on the ground that it is a party that enjoys a large majority and does not need to join in a front. Furthermore, AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI reported that Dr Yusuf Wali expressed the same argument in his discussion with an opposition party personality. However, he did not refuse to join the Front.

Observers have concluded that the present situation concerning the Front can be summarized in that all parties believe in the necessity of the Front at the present time. However, the scenario of events and the reservations of the different parties have given a different impression. Nevertheless, despite the Wafd's reservations, it quickly accepted the invitation but then waited for the result of the infighting in the largest leftist circle; the Labor /Party/ called for the formation of a preparatory committee for the creation of the Front as a condition for its participation in it; the Grouping /Party/, despite its rejection of al-Sharqawi's Front, did not reject the idea of a front; the Liberals are ready to join at any time; the National /Party/ is waiting for the result of the dispute between the opposing groups and for a determination of what it has to sacrifice on the political and party levels. However, what prevents the creation of the Front?

Interview with Wahid Ra'fat

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 28 Oct 85 pp 50-51

/Interview with Dr Wahid Ra'fat, vice chairman of the Wafd Party, by Rida Hilal; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ We start by asking about the position of the Wafd Party concerning the invitation to form "the National Front."

/Answer/ I would like first to assert that I speak for myself and not for the Wafd Party. The Wafd Party has not as yet studied this subject carefully and has not convened a special session to review it through the supreme body of the party. This might be due to the fact that the attitude of the other parties does not encourage continued study on the subject of the Front because of the wide variation and difference between the points of view of brother 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi and the Grouping Party, for example, which led to unacceptable insults and accusations. The concept itself is still vague despite the many articles by Dr al-Sharqawi.

/Question/ In your opinion, why is the Front necessary?

/Answer/ The Front's concept does not revolve in a vacuum but has an objective. Egypt at the present time, and more than at any other time since the 1952 revolution, is facing many economic, financial, social, and political problems. We are in a situation which we should not disregard or whose importance we should not conceal from the youth and the future generations of the year 2000. Moreover, despite the late al-Sadat's talk of prosperity, many of us believe that prosperity is the farthest thing from Egypt and instead we see a dark future. Therefore, we have to unite as much as possible behind one word, to solve our problems as a team, and to forget our personal and party considerations for a year, 6 months, or for even a few months. We import 70 percent of our wheat and our debts have reached $31 billion, according to the report of the International Monetary Fund. We can add to this problems of unemployment, education, uncontrolled imports, decreasing productivity, and the relationship between owners and agricultural land and real estate lessees.

The problems have accumulated and have become hills, even high mountains, and the idea that was presented by brother 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi represents the solution to this dilemma. However, the solution to this dilemma is not the abrogation of Camp David as is believed by some. The solution to this dilemma requires a solution to these problems. Those who call for the abrogation of Camp David are calling for the cancellation of the peace treaty. Is this a wise policy at the present time?

I consider the thorny economic problems to be the most important. The solution to these problems cannot be achieved by one party even if we agree with Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr's assumption that the ruling party possesses the necessary capabilities. However, two heads are better than one, i.e., the other parties possess other capabilities that the country should not be deprived of. Our future should not rely on the opinion of one party even if it has the capabilities.

Furthermore, it is impossible for one party to solve these problems because the other parties will try to outbid it and will raise a storm against any solution in which they do not participate. This is a fact in all nations and not just in Egypt. The opposition can go overboard in its opposition and sometimes follows the proverb that states "either you do it my way or we do not do it." Moreover, as long as the opposition is not in power it cannot appreciate its intricacies because those who are struggling with a problem can appreciate it more than those who are not affected by it. Therefore, it is necessary that the parties participate in the solution to these problems. This will lead to a solution that will take into account the public interest and not the interest of any party, including that of the ruling party.

/Question/ In your opinion, who are the parties or forces that make up the Front?

/Answer/ Al-Sharqawi's Front should be criticized, I believe, because it is a wishy-washy front due to the fact that al-Sharqawi failed to define the components of this front and simply stated that it is not limited to parties but includes all national forces. Does this mean that it includes Muslim extremist groups? I recognize the existence of one moderate group, i.e., the Muslim Brotherhood represented by big brother Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani. However, there are next to this group more than 20 other religious groups and the intelligence services indicate that there are more than 60 such groups. Are these groups what is meant by national forces? Do we invite the moderate and extremist groups?

Do we invite the Nasirite forces? And who represents these forces? All parties, i.e., National, Grouping, Labor, and Liberals claim a link to Nasirism. Moreover, the Nasirite forces are divided, and is their objective to revive the 'Abd-al-Nasir era? Is our goal to revise the al-Sadat, 'Abd-al-Nasir, or the prerevolutionary eras, or are we interested in real problems? Therefore, this vague and wishy-washy front will not lead to anything. A good example of that is what happened in Sudan where until now the parties and unions that make up the ruling council have not reached a decision because some of its unions are made up of radical extremist elements, or should I say communist. I am not against communism because it is a political ideology. However, do we want a front that includes all forces without defining these forces?

/Question/ Therefore, there is a wishy-washy attitude in defining the Front's components?

/Answer/ Yes, there is a wishy-washy and vague attitude despite the fact that the Egyptian constitution is clear. For the first time the 1980 amendment to the 1971 Constitution provided in Art 5 that the Egyptian political system is a multiparty system. Furthermore, prior to this al-Sadat declared at the opening of the parliamentary session (November 1976) that all platforms should be turned into parties. Parties are constitutional institutions and everyone should understand this, they are not opponents of the government but complement it.

/Question/ Does this mean that you believe that the existing political parties are the Front's components?

/Answer/ I believe that the Front will not be effective unless we limit it to political parties.

/Question/ However, there are political forces in the street which are not part of any political party.

/Answer/ The present parties can form a Front with the street forces. The street forces include extremist tendencies like the religious extremist groups, and unorganized political tendencies. The force that can be dealt with is that of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is represented by eight delegates in the Wafd Party and for the first time the Brotherhood group is represented by such a large number in the Parliament.

/Question/ Does this mean that the Muslim Brotherhood will be included in the Front through the Wafd?

/Answer/ I believe so because the provision of the parties' statute prevents them from forming a party, until the statute is amended to permit the Brotherhood to form a party.

/Question/ In your opinion what should the Front's shape be if we take into account its objective and components?

/Answer/ The Front's concept as described by brother al-Sharqawi is that it will be on the periphery of the constitutional institutions. However, he did not define its relationship with these institutions. If the oejctive is to create a consultative council we already have a Shura council, specialized national councils, and unions and associations.

/Question/ Mr al-Sharqawi wrote that the Front will be a council with binding decisions....

/Answer/ This is a constitutional error no nation can accept, i.e., it cannot accept a front that exists on the periphery of the constitutional institutions and yet with decisions binding on these institutions. The Front should operate from within the constitutional institutions.

/Question/ Would it be able to accomplish this through a coalition government?

/Answer/ No, not through a coalition cabinet because such a cabinet would entail the distribution of ministerial portfolios among parties and the Wafd has been throughout its existence against a coalition cabinet since its 1928 experience. What I am calling for is "a cabinet of national salvation" which is different from a coalition cabinet. We do not want the government and we do not seek it because we were kept away from it for more than 30 years.

/Question/ What is your concept of a cabinet of national salvation?

/Answer/ I view it as a cabinet in which each party is represented by one minister, let it be a minister of state, i.e., a minister who does not hold any ministry but participates in investigating and solving problems andresetns his party in the cabinet, and the cabinet in his party. He would express to the cabinet the opinion and suggested solutions of his party, and would relay to his party what occurs in the cabinet.

The objective of the national salvation cabinet is to participate in the government to assist in problem solving. Its participation could be for 1 or 2 years until its task is completed. It would be like the "higher committee for policies" or a "minicabinet." Parties would be a part of this committee. In other words, the "policies committee" could be changed into a "national committee" which would include not only the ministers of the ruling party but also the representatives of the parties that accept participating in the Front.

/Question/ What type of voting system will it adopt?

/Answer/ Votes in the national salvation cabinet would be weighted rather than counted. The purpose would not be to show a majority or a minority but to reach a consensus concerning the solution of any problem. The national salvation cabinet would include, along with the government (the prime minister and his deputies), the party representatives (a deputy for each party that agrees to join). Each problem would be studied in the cabinet until a consensus is reached on a final solution. There will be different opinions but agreement on a common opinion will be reached. The national salvation cabinet will be like a "doctors' consultation," assembling around a patient's bed. Each doctor expresses his opinion as to the best cure for the patient and then a consensus is reached.

Furthermore, the national salvation cabinet will be like a minicabinet in the larger cabinet and when an agreement is reached on a certain opinion it is submitted to the larger cabinet for passage as a solution. It is then submitted to the People's Assembly if it requires legislation.

This conceptualization means that ministers would not be in danger of losing their posts. Ministers are ministers. The only purpose is to make the parties participate in the solution of problems. The creation of a wishy-washy front which does not enjoy any constitutional or legal status and yet would enact binding recommendations would be an unacceptable proposition.

/Question/ Does this mean that each party that joins the Front has to abandon its party program?

/Answer/ This is the difference between a national salvation cabinet and a coalition cabinet. In the coalition cabinet the party joins the cabinet but does not abandon its program. However, in the national salvation cabinet the party does abandon its program once it joins the cabinet. The party representative takes off his party hat when he joins the national salvation cabinet. For example, when the subject of subsidies is discussed, the Wafd Party believes that subsidies should be abolished gradually within 5 years, another party believes that wages should be raised and subsidies should be abolished, and yet another party believes that a real subsidy should be changed into a monetary subsidy, etc. In the national salvation cabinet all ideas are reviewed until a consensus is reached on a specific idea.

Obviously, it is difficult to ask a party to abandon the platform it ran under in the elections. However, since we are speaking of "saving what can be saved" we have to forget party platforms.

Moreover, I am not saying that the national salvation cabinet will solve all problems. However, if we are able to solve even a fifth of our problems, it would be an achievement in itself. Finally, I would like to tell you the 18 and 19 January 1977 riots showed that the ruling party cannot by itself solve any major problem like subsidies, free education, or the relations with America and Israel, after the opposition parties attacked the government just for raising the prices.

Interview with 'Umar al-Talmasani

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 28 Oct 85 pp 52-53

/Interview with 'Umar al-Talmasani, general guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, by Rida Hilal; date and place not specified/

/Text/ Despite the fact that he was sick in bed, he did not refuse the request to interview him. He said before and after the interview that his house is always opened. Furthermore, despite the fact that the interview was short, it was conducted in an atmosphere marked by the generosity of the host his friendliness, in one of the most unpretentious houses in Egypt in its furniture and location in al-Zahir section on the heights of al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari mosque. However, he did not attempt to exploit his simple life and his rejection of the temptations of this life for political purposes.

Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, may God grant him a long life, did not accuse anyone of unbelief while discussing the National Front. Furthermore, he did not speak ill of anyone but he even defended the existence of the communist party. Moreover, he blamed parties for their divisions and for their exchange of insults. He condemned violence and criticized the "green" march and the riots in the University of Cairo that were sparked by the Israeli aggression on Tunisia. Let us now present the different parts of this interview.

/Question/ What is the view of Mr al-Talmasani concerning the recent call for the creation of a "National Front."

/Answer/ In my opinion I cannot see the benefit that would result from a front that is made up of the existing parties because the basis in the creation of fronts is the parties' agreement on specific principles that they have to defend and achieve. However, we have a situation in which the Labor Party insults the Grouping Party and the latter insults the Wafd, which in turn insults the National Party. This is a sad picture, especially since we are experiencing crises.

I have my conditions for joining the Front: First, the parties should stop their divisiveness because the parties have been strengthening the bases of hatred between the various groups of people. These parties are supposed to be concerned only with the welfare of the people. I do not see any harm coming from this Front if the parties agree to set aside the bickering which we read in party newspapers and agree on specific principles we can all support.

The second condition is that the Front has to be effective and influential and not a nominal Front. This means that we go down to the street and review the conditions in which the people live, to permit us to express first hand the opinions of this people. The third condition entails that the Front meet with the president of the republic once a month and submit to him monthly reports and discuss with him what it believes would be in the interest of the people. This does not mean that the Front is only an advisory body, because its opinions should be morally binding. When the Front expresses an opinion to the president of the Republic, the cabinet, or the People's Assembly it should be considered the people's opinion.

The fourth condition is that the intelligence services stay away from the Front because we are discussing issues and do not intend to sabotage or terrorize. If this condition is not fulfilled the Front would become just a name without substance.

/Question/ In your view, who are the components of this Front?

/Answer/ Each party would elect one or two representatives to the Front. The members of the Front then would request from their parties a period of truce in which they can discuss the problems of the country.

/Question/ Who would represent the Muslim Brotherhood?

/Answer/ When we entered the People's Assembly we told Fu'ad Pasha that a Wafd member is what he is and that a Muslim Brother is what he is. The Wafd was a legitimate channel for us to enter the People's Assembly and we will never change our principle.

/Question/ Does this mean that the Wafd will not represent the Muslim Brotherhood in the Front?

/Answer/ No objection. Perhaps. We demand the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah, and I have heard that there are attempts by the Wafd to oppose the implementation of the Shari'ah. I told Rif'at al-Mahjub in the People's Assembly when I was called there for a hearing that the Shari'ah should be implemented slowly and gradually. This opinion is constantly referred to by al-Mahjub.

/Question/ Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il has stated that the Brotherhood is trying to separate itself from the Wafd. How true is this statement?

/Answer/ Ask me about the Brotherhood. Shaykh Salah Ab-Isma'il expresses his personal opinion on public issues. This is an honorable trait in the Muslim Brothers because each of them expresses his opinion freely. However, I can speak for the majority and as an official I say no separation, no conflict.

/Question/ I still ask: "Do you accept that the Wafd represent you in the Front?

/Answer/ ...If necessary.

/Question/ This means that you will limit the Front's components to the political parties?

/Answer/ ...Yes.

/Question/ There are forces that are not represented in a party?

/Answer/ You mean the Islamic groups and the Nasirites...

/Question/ For example...

/Answer/ Some Islamic groups include individuals like Shaykh Hafiz Salamah, and a shaykh in Hulwan called 'Abd-al-Hamid. I was asked if I would allow the establishment of a Nasirite party in Egypt. My response was that I would allow the creation of a communist party in Egypt. Personal freedom has no boundary whatsoever. Unfortunately we use the word democracy, which has many limits. I wish we would use instead the word freedom in Islam. There is a huge difference between Western democracy, and freedom in Islam.

/Question/ What do you mean by freedom in Islam?

/Answer/ The concept of freedom in Islam means that there are rights enacted by the creator and enjoyed by his worshipers. Democracy is a man's creation. People in different countries create the type of system that suits them best and call it democracy. This is nonsense.

Freedom in Islam means that one can do what one wants within the limits of the rights of others.

/Question/ Does this mean that you reject the concept of Western democracy?

/Answer/ Yes...

/Question/ However, you have submitted a request to form a party and is not the multiparty system the basis of Western democracy?

/Answer/ I am forced, and when a person is forced he sometimes accepts matters he would not accept otherwise. The brotherhood has seen the legitimate channels through which it can express itself shut in its face. I consider the brotherhood an international group and the parties local groups and there is a big difference between local and international groups.

/Question/ However, you have tried to form a Muslim Brotherhood party.

/Answer/ I am attempting in fact to form a party. I have different ideas on Islam. When I commit myself to a certain idea I will form a party. However, you will never hear an unkind word from me about any party or leader, even about the communists.

/Question/ If I can phrase the question differently. From an Islamic point of view, you refuse the multiparty system /partisanship/ because it is the essence of Western democracy. However, you are attempting to form a party. Is this not a contradiction in your view?

/Answer/ In the canonical law of Islam necessity allows the forbidden. Therefore, if I were to form a party, it would be inspite of myself because I would have no other way by which I could communicate my voice to the people or the People's Assembly except through a party. There is a difference between doing something because you have to do it and doing something voluntarily. The job you are forced to do you will leave as soon as you can. The brotherhood is an international group that speaks to the whole world and desires the welfare of the whole world, Muslim and non-Muslim. Therefore, the party is not an end but I am forced to form it. Nevertheless, party statutes, derogatory rumors, and the press have combined skillfully to convince the National Party to banish the Muslim Brotherhood.

I repeat that the brotherhood is an international group for Muslims and non-Muslims and my relationship with Pope Shanudah, the leader of the Copts, is based on love and friendship.

/Question/ What do you think of the religious groups that have spread recently?

/Answer/ Ask me about myself, not about others.

/Question/ I am not asking you about people but about an existing phenomenon....

/Answer/ The term religious groups is vague. These are groups that spread Islam and Islamic call. However, despite the fact that some of these groups use violence, the Muslim Brothers do not use violence, terrorism, or subversion because these actions would only benefit the enemies of this country. When

I leave a mosque in a march and some mercenaries infiltrate it--and mercenaries are in every country in the world--they will change a [peaceful] march into a subversive one and hurt the country with their actions.

[Question] Do you mean you did not approve of Shaykh Hafiz Salamah's march?

[Answer] No, I certainly did not approve of it and I said so from the start. Shaykh Salamah stated himself that some friends advised him not to participate in a march which can be infiltrated by mercenaries. I had so counseled him and told him that he would not control the march. Furthremore, the recent demonstration that followed the Israeli aggression on Tunisia would have turned into a battle had not the Muslim Brotherhood controlled it.

[Question] Would these groups accept 'Umar al-Talmasani as their representative in the Front?

[Answer] This question should not be directed to me but rather to them. However, you will not hear a no from any of them. We enjoy close and friendly relations. Nevertheless, my health does not permit me to participate because if I agreed to join I would have to be a secretary and to work. Unfortunately, I do not have the strength to work. I have lost the ability to read.

Front in Egyptian Politics

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 28 Oct 85 p 54

[Text] The "National Front" made its debut in Egyptian political movements with the advent of political organizations in Egypt in the late 19th century.

--Although the concept of the "National Front" was tied in political literature with the party phenomenon because of the fact that the Front was an agreement between a number of political parties on a specific objective, Egypt knew "the front" before the "the political party." Moreover, the first Egyptian political party, "the old National Party," was established through a front that was made up of two organizations (the army organization, the Hulwan Association) under the leadership of 'Urabi and this was reflected in its name: It was known as the National Party [al-Hizb al-Ahli] or the Farmer's party [Hizb al-Fallahin]. The party's statement on (4 November 1879) reflected this fact. It asserted: "The National Front is a political and not a religious party. It is made up of men of different convictions and beliefs and includes Christians and Jews. Anyone who plows the land of Egypt and speaks its language is a member of this party without discrimination because of convictions. All individuals are brothers with equal political and legal rights."

This Front which was formed of the commanders of the army and notables led the national struggle against the Khedive until the confrontation with him in September 1882.

Mustafa Kamil established the National Party in 1907. He mentioned in the introduction of his book "The Eastern Question" that "the Khedive is the leader of the National Party because he is the leader of the nation and the

National Party is the whole nation." Moreover, he declared in his speech that marked the creation of the party "a country that does not enjoy independence and which is controlled by foreigners should have only one party, i.e., the National Party, which is the party of freedom, the party of independence."

The National Party led the national struggle until the 1919 revolution when the Wafd assumed the leadership of the national movement.

--Similarly the Wafd Party was at its inception closer to a front than to a political party because it was based on the Egyptian Wafd which was put together on 23 November 1918 through the popular delegation to demand the independence of Egypt. This party was led by Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha and a number of personalities that represented the various Egyptian political forces (al-'Ummah party, the National Party, the supporters of Emir 'Umar Tusun, and the Copts). These personalities were: "Isma'il Sidqi Pasha, Mahmud Bey Abu-al-Nasr, Hafiz 'Afifi Bey, Mustafa al-Nahas Bey, Sinut Hanabik, Jorji Khayyat, and Hamd al-Basil Pasha. Sa'd Zaghlul declared in a speech on 2 July 1924: "I am not a leader of a party but the representative of a nation." Moreover, he declared in the elections of 1925: "The Wafd enters the elections not as a party but as a representative of the Egyptian nation." That is why Sa'd Zaghlul was called 'al-za'im" /the leader/, his house was named "the house of the nation," and his wife was called "the mother of the nation." Past history shows that the "political party" in Egypt--as is the case with many Asian and African nations--started as a "national front" to demand national independence, and did not start in a parliamentary framework seeking to take over power as was the case in the Western democracies.

After Egypt received its formal independence on the basis of the 28 February 1922 declaration, and following the start of the parliamentary experiment according to the 1923 Constitution, the Egyptian political movement knew the front as a party coalition (between several parties) and as a popular coalition (between several popular forces).

Historians recorded three examples of this type of front:

--The 1925 coalition between the Wafd Party, the National Party, and the Liberal Constitutional Party that called for the return of the constitution and the abrogation of the 1925 elections law (elections on two levels).

--The 1935 national front between all existing parties (the Wafd, the National, Liberal Constitutional, the People's, and the Union) in addition to the Independents /Party/ that called for the return of the 1923 Constitution.

--The 1946 national front which was formed following the demonstrations of the National Committee of workers and the students. This front called for the abrogation of the 1936 treaty between Egypt and England. Furthermore, a delegation was formed to conduct the negotiations and included the Liberal Constitutional Party, supporters of Sa'd Zaghlul, the Wafdist bloc, and some independents. However, the Wafd and National parties did not join this delegation.

We will discuss these fronts further in the upcoming series of articles.

Agreement, Dissension Among Parties

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 11 Nov 85 pp 22-23

/Text/ There is almost unanimous agreement among all parties and political tendencies on the necessity for a "National Front." However, there is still disagreement on the details, i.e., the goal, elements, and shape of the Front and its relationship with the ruling party and the government. If this disagreement is resolved, the Front will be established. However, if it continues, the appeal for a Front will be nipped in the bud and a historic opportunity to save what could be saved will be lost.

A Front...Why?

There is a political reality that cannot be ignored or denied, i.e., that the political leadership has attempted during the Third Republic to reach some kind of "general consent" or "national reconciliation" concerning a number of national issues. This fact was reflected in the "political speech" and "political movement" of this leadership.

We would like to mention here that President Mubarak called in his speech to the People's Assembly following the parliamentary elections last year for an "agreement" or a "general consensus" among the parties on a number of issues.

Moreover, Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, the president of the People's Assembly and member of the general secretariat of the National Party, called in a press conference in September 1984 for the concept of "national reconciliation" in these terms: "Our future policy will be based on an important principle, i.e., the achievement of national reconciliation in its political, economic, and social dismensions as an expression of the interest of all national forces to sustain democratic practices."

At the movement level we can trace many such practices: The national economic conference was called for by all the parties; five representatives of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council representing the various parties were included in the Egyptian delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations; representative of the parties were included in the official Egyptian commemorating the Bandung Conference; an invitation was issued to all parties to participate in the discussion of the subsidy issue. The most recent example of democratic practice was the meeting between President Mubarak and the leaders of the political parties following the hijacking of the Egyptian plane. According to past logic one can say that the political leadership is attempting to find a form of "national political bloc" between the political parties and the political leadership concerning a number of national issues without divisiveness and conflict.

It is within this framework that some people understood the appeal of the well-known writer 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi to create a National Front on the basis that it is basically an appeal from the political leadership, particularly since it was reported in AL-AHRAM, which they consider a semi-official newspaper. Moreover, following the newspaper report, a meeting was held between President Mubarak and al-Sharqawi which was reported in the three national newspapers.

Yet some other people understood al-Sharqawi's appeal--after the exchange of insults between him and AL-AHALI newspaper--as an attempt at the settling of accounts between what has been called "the national left" and what has been called "the adventurous left" for the purpose of isolating the latter.

Furthermore, this appeal has been viewed by some as a call for an alliance between the National Party, the Wafd Party, and the Brotherhood because al-Sharqawi directed his appeal to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din to bear the responsibility for forming the Front. Finally, this appeal was also understood as being directed against Islamic groups because al-Sharqawi appealed for the creation of the Front following the events that were sparked by the march of Shaykh Hafiz Salamah for the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah, and because he defined the Front's goal--in the beginning--to be the "extrication of the nation from the horror of sedition."

This is what led to the disagreement between the parties and the political tendencies concerning the Front's goal and prompted each interested party to define this goal according to its whim, and the answer to the question, "Why a Front?" was somehow lost. Nevertheless, several objectives for the Front were mentioned: resolve the economic problem and its ramifications; resolve the problem of democracy; resolve the foreign problem with its many dimensions (Arab-Israeli-American); resolve the problem of religious extremism. There is a coorelation between the plurality of the Front's objectives and the multiplicity of views concerning the achievement of these objectives. However, the Front--from a scientific point of view--must be based on one national objective around which all parties will rally to insure its achievement.

Membership of the Front

What are the political forces that are supposed to form the Front? According to many opinions the Front should be made up of political parties only. However, this raises more than one obstacle, most important of which is the fact that many political forces that are active in the political arena are not organized in political parties, e.g., religious groups, the Nasirites, and the communists.

The second obstacle is that many parties are not represented in Parliament and the local people's assemblies, which reflects the lack of even minimum balance between the political forces in the People's Assembly and the local government in addition to the fundamental absence and nonrepresentation of some parties. It is within this framework that it was suggested that the National Front include all political tendencies which represent the national forces. Moreover, some suggested--in order to widen the Front's base--including in its representatives of the unions, the Orthodox Church, the intelligentsia, and the media. However, this suggestion, despite its validity, is not practical. Who would determine which political tendencies can or cannot join the Front? Furthermore, who would represent each tendency in the absence of a legal organization for each tendency, and with the existence of a number of secret organizations for each tendency and the presence of elements of these tendencies in the existing political parties? This is true of the Nasirite, the communist, and religious tendencies.

On the other hand, would the church, the unions and the intelligentsia be represented by political tendencies or political powers? Obviously an affirmative reply to this question would be contrary to the reality of the Front and would reflect a misunderstanding of the Front's concept.

Furthermore, there is a third obstacle concerning the attempt to determine the Front's components, i.e., that the determination of the Front's objective would limit the Front to the parties that agree on the "objective" and hence would remove those parties that do not agree on that objective, provided that one could agree theoretically on the Front's components.

Formation of the Front...How?

If we sidestep the disagreements concerning the Front's objective" and the "Front's components," the major problem becomes the composition of the Front and this raises many questions:

--Who organizes the appeal to join the Front and how is it to be organized?
--What is the procedural program for its establishment?
--What is the tactical program for its movement?

Assuming the existence of the "minimum consensus" concerning the objective and the components there would still be two different opinions concerning the Front's composition.

The first opinion suggests that one of the political parties--be it the National Party or one of the opposition parties--organize the appeal to form the Front and determine procedural matters and the dyanmics of the movement.

The second opinion calls for the formation of a preparatory committee that would include all parties to discuss the Front's formation.

The first opinion can be criticized as undemocratic because it limits to one party the right to organize the appeal to form the Front and the manner in which the Front should be composed.

The second opinion seems more rational. However, it also seems more difficult from an objective point of view because the disputes between the parties in the preparatory committee might lead to the rejection of the idea of the Front before it materializes. Therefore, some people have suggested that President Mubarak should--in his role as president--call for the formation of the Front on the ground that he is trying to get the idea of the Front away from party maneuvering even if this means that one or two parties will not participate in the Front.

The Relationship Between the Front, the Ruling Party and the Government

What kind of relationship will the Front have with the National Party?

Is it a relationship in which the National Party embraces the opposition parties?

Or is to a relationship in which the National Party yields at the policy and party levels to the opposition parties?

There has not been until now a reply from the National Party. However, observers have noted the rejection of the National Party of some forms of front activities that were carried out by opposition parties in the past few years, e.g., the national committee for the defense of liberties, the national committee for the defense of democracy, and the national committee for the preservation of the national culture. However, the National Party has not rejected--as of now--the present appeal to establish a national front.

Nevertheless, any composition of the National Front will have to include the National Party since it is the ruling party and since it holds the absolute majority of parliamentary seats. The credibility of the "participation of the National Party" and the necessity of the establishment of a "national front" will determine the type of relationship between the National Party and the opposition parties within the National Front.

However, the main issue remains the relationship between the Front and the government. Would the Front participate in the government? Or would it be an advisory body? In other words, would it be a "ruling front" or an "advisory front"? Moreover, would its advice be binding or not? The answer to these questions will be reflected in our definition of the concept of the "National Salvation Front" and our definition of what we want saved....

--Until next time.

Interview with Pope Shanudah

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 11 Nov 85 pp 24-27

/Interview with Pope Shanudah the Third by Rida Hilal; date and place not specified/

/Text/ There is a big difference between a discussion on the "National Front" and a discussion on "National Unity." A discussion of the National Front is a political one and a discussion on national unity is a religious one. That is why I hesitated very much before meeting Pope Shanudah the Third to discuss the "National Front." My next step was to review the biography of "Nazir Jayyid" who later became "Pope Shanudah." He began his career as a member in the Wafdist Bloc Party which was headed by Makram 'Ubayd following its separation from the Wafd. He used to give speeches in the general meetings of the party and wrote weekly articles for a weekly newspaper. Father Matta al-Maskin /the Poor/ described him as "the most educated pope in the history of the church.... However, reason replaced inspiration and planning replaced prayer."

I decided to meet the pope, whether in his spiritual or political capacity. As soon as I stepped into the cathedral to meet Pope Shanudah, I remembered his predecessor, Pope Kirillus the Sixth, and his good relationship with President 'Abd-al-Nasir which resulted in the building of this cathedral.

Moreover, I remembered the dispute between President al-Sadat and Pope Shanudah which ended in his banishment to the monastery in Wadi al-Natrun.

Pope Shanudah received me in a very friendly manner in the papal residence. Moreover, he did not stop smiling except for few seconds during the 3-hour interview. In his answers he chose his words and clarified his meaning and intent. In addition, he did not skimp in his answer to questions he considered political or refuse to answer questions he had reservations on.

He repeatedly asserted that he wishes always to say something that will benefit the nation. When I reminded him of Father Matta's description of him as being a political leader he reviewed the facts concerning his dispute with al-Sadat and asserted that he was a spiritual leader.

The Front Between Necessity and Interest

/Question/ Many national forces regard the "National Front" as a necessity. Do you believe now that there is a necessity to create a national front?

/Answer/ Before we refer to the expression "necessity" let us use the expression "beneficial." Undoubtedly, the Front has its advantage whether it is an inevitable necessity or not. If we are calling for the unity of all Arabs should we not call for a unity inside Egypt (our country)? The advantage of the Front is its ability to form one public opinion devoid of conflicting opinions and of policies that might seem contradictory. Moreover, unity lead to strength and despite the fact that one opinion might be very confining, a common agreement gives strength.

Moreover, all religions call for unity and solidarity and one of the Christian tenets asserts: All those who believe form one concept, one spirit, and one heart and everything they own they share in common.

Furthermore, there are many problems that require a united opinion and solidarity to solve them. Perhaps these problems are beyond the capacity of one individual or one party. As long as there are problems that plague Egypt both internally and externally, and since we are all Egyptians, we should unite to solve these problems that affect us all.

/Question/ Therefore, there is a need...

/Answer/ I am still talking about benefit.... The front has a level of thinking that is above the party level of thinking in Egypt and it is above partisanship and disputes. We are saying that the Front could be a first step that could lead to unity. Moreover, unity can begin as a unity of thought and could then develop into a unity of action and into a common stand.

However, I say that the Front is a means and not an end, a means that can accomplish an objective, i.e., Egypt's national needs and the welfare of its masses.

Those who feel that the Front is necessary see the danger of conceptual and political dissension and realize that the people are torn by many opinions and are unable sometimes to locate the truth. Sometimes a difference in opinion changes into a personal conflict and unity is lost.

/Question/ When is the Front a necessity?

/Answer/ It becomes a necessity if everyone believes in the danger of the situation and in the necessity of uniting to find a cure.

The Economic Problem Is Not Everything

/Question/ A cure for what?

/Answer/ The economic problem. Will the parties' attitude towards this problem be one of disapproval or one of disregard or will everyone cooperate to solve the economic problem? How can they cooperate if they do not get together? Moreover, there are solutions that might seem impossible to implement. Nevertheless, if they all get together they might reach /one practical opinion/ that can be implemented.

The feeling of the people that there is one opinion upon which everyone agrees will give them the security they need to follow that opinion. It is in this context that the Front is beneficial in leading the masses.

/Question/ In your opinion does this mean that the economic problem is the only problem?

/Answer/ Of course not. The economic problem is not everything.

/Question/ What other problems, then?

/Answer/ For example, the problem of public utilities that the masses need, the problem of housing, the problem of inflation.

/Question/ These are problems that are related to the economic problem as a whole.

Arab Unity

/Answer/ There are also foreign problems.

/Question/ What are the foreign problems?

/Answer/ Don't you know what they are?

/Question/ From your point of view, not mine.

/Answer/ For example, our relationship with the Arabs and the degree of agreement on unity; the return of Egypt to its original position as an opinion leader; our position concerning the Middle East problem and its wars; and our relationship with the superpowers.

/Question/ Do you confine the foreign problem to the Arab and the Middle East arenas?

/Answer/ The policies are intertwined and you cannot separate the Middle East problem from international politics. We can say the problem of foreign policies in general.

/Question/ Do you not believe that the Egyptian-Israeli-American relations constitute a problem now and need an agreement concerning them?

/Answer/ This is a matter that can be decided by the National Front and not by me.

/Question/ And from the pope's point of view?

/Answer/ The problem is related to foreign relations in general, including Arab relations.

/Question/ Following the latest incidents, don't you consider Egyptian-Israeli-American relations a problem?

/Answer/ After President Mubarak's meeting with the parties' leaders there is no need for my opinion. Undoubtedly, it is a huge problem that needs a solution. Some parties called for the severance of relations, some other parties called for self-restraint and the betterment of existing relations, and yet some other parties called for the use of this problem to benefit our country.

These are matters that politicians are reviewing and that need to be studied.

/Question/ Are you reluctant to express an opinion because they are political matters?

/Answer/ No. These matters require indepth study and not a quick and impromptu opinion so that we can avoid committing an error. When politicians review these matters, they have at their disposal information to which we are not privy and their backgrounds and trends are not clear to us. Policy has never been based on a quick opinion or an impromptu position and in general we cannot take a specific incident and make it a base for action. Moreover, the call for the establishment of the Front occurred before the latest incident. We have to review matters in a comprehensive way and not within the confines of an incident.

/Question/ What I was referring to are the signs of the incident rather than the incident as such.

/Answer/ It is an incident that resulted from existing policies.

I Refused to Visit Israel

/Question/ May I ask the pope why he has not visited Israel until now?

/Answer/ Of course. The pope is the symbol of the Copts. If he visits Israel that means that the Copts have a certain relation with Israel or a certain attitude towards Israel and this would raise many questions. Therefore, despite my desire to visit Jerusalem, I have refused to visit it and I call upon people not to visit it now.

/Question/ Why?

/Answer/ Because there is a disagreement between us and Israel that requires a solution.

/Question/ What is the disagreement you see between us and Israel?

/Answer/ Don't you know what kind of disagreement?

/Question/ We may differ on the type of disagreement.

/Answer/ There is no difference concerning the disagreement between us and Israel: Tabah, Palestine, the occupied territories, the occupation of the Golan, the invasion of Lebanon, its intervention in Arab wars, and its supply of weapons to foreign elements.

A Democratic Milieu...But

/Question/ Some see that the democratic issue is one of the most important issues with which the Front should be concerned. What is your opinion?

/Answer/ Undoubtedly, democracy has grown considerably in our country when we compare the situation now to what it was 20 years ago: the existence of opposition parties, opposition press, the existence of a large number of opposition deputies in the People's Assembly for the first time, liberties, meetings. Further steps towards democracy are possible. However, we do not deny that a great deal of democracy has already been accomplished, and to recognize the truth is a virtue. Moreover, we do not deny an important point, i.e., the meeting of President Mubarak with the parties' leaders and if the opposition is responsive more such meetings could be scheduled.

/Question/ Does this mean that there is no problem of democracy?

/Answer/ I wish you would detail for us the parameters of this problem.

/Question/ I came to find out your point of view.

/Answer/ I concentrate on church matters which are my primary resposibility and I do not have the time to study every subject.

/Question/ Some believe, for example, that the present party law constitutes a deviation from democracy. What is your view on that?

/Answer/ Perhaps the controls rather than the restrictions on the creation of parties are beneficial. Moreover, the question of restriction might be tied to the level of development of society. We believe that the National Front will assist in bringing more democracy because democracy means that government is by the people and for the people. Perhaps there will be an opportunity for the creation of new parties. Undoubtedly, the existence of many parties is a big step towards democracy and we now have six parties that publish their own newspapers and meet freely. Do we have to assume perfection before we admit to the existence of democracy. Whenever an experiment is successful, democracy grows.

/Question/ What about the Muslim Brotherhood?

/Answer/ I had a friendly meeting with Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani. Moreover, I had a good meeting with Shaykh Ahmad Hasan al-Baquri, may God have mercy on him.

A Front That Includes Parties, Unions, and the Intelligentsia

/Question/ Based on the discussion concerning the usefulness of the Front and the problems which concern it, how do you perceive the task of the National Front?

/Answer/ If the Front is formed it should not be a political party and should not lead to the abrogation of existing parties. However, it should be a meeting of the mind between Egyptians who love Egypt to reach practical solutions that would meet with the people's approval. Therefore, the Front should be a debating group whose purpose is to reach a common concept. However, as I understand it, it is not a party or an authority.

/Question/ The Front, to be a front, should not be a party.

/Answer/ Of course.

/Question/ Is it in your opinion just an "intellectual club"?

/Answer/ The Front could be established on two bases: either the "people" agree and then assemble or they assemble to reach an agreement. In other words, there might be an agreement on specific issues on which the Front would meet or there might be a conflict and the result of the conflict would be a meeting to reach an agreement. Obviously it is hard if not impossible, for "all" to agree on everything.

/Question/ You mentioned "people" and then you mentioned "all," which leads us to discuss the components of the Front. What are these components in your view?

/Answer/ The political parties, the unions, the intelligentsia, press and media personalities and every intellectual potential outside the government, the parties and the unions.

/Question/ Don't you feel that this form is similar to that of the Shura Council? And does it not confirm it being an "intellectual club" in your view?

/Answer/ Therefore, what is the National made of?

/Question/ There are two actual experiments in the history of Egyptian political movement, i.e., the 1935 and 1946 fronts. In both cases the front was formed from parties.

/Answer/ The 1935 front began as a student movement and hence was a popular movement before becoming a movement between the leaders of the parties.

/Question/ What would the effect of the "intellectual club" be, as you see it and with the form you mentioned?

/Answer/ In any organized institution, discussion is not based on a vacuum but a committee is delegated to present a well-research study and everyone expresses his opinion until a common opinion is reached.

/Question/ What then? Would opinions be binding?

/Answer/ We said that the Front, in everyone's view, is not a part and is not an authority and when its opinions become binding it becomes an authority.

/Question/ Therefore, how would the Front's opinions be implemented?

/Answer/ An opinion that is strong and conforms to the truth is a practical opinion and would be welcomed by everyone. Do we think that if the Front would meet, study a problem, and then present practical, useful, and strong solutions that these solutions would be rejected?

/Question/ Nevertheless, the opinion of the Front may or may not be followed.

/Answer/ We say here that the Front is just a beginning and we say that al-Sharqawi's appeal is an honest concept and a rationale that is praised by everyone. Moreover, he is a nationalist. Furthermore, the Front should be judged on the extent and effectiveness of its services and should not be judged before it has even started.

The National Front Does Not Exclude the Clergy

/Question/ In your opinion how should we start the Front?

/Answer/ If the Front is necessary it should be started. In my view nothing is perfect at the start but everything starts and grows in time. How?

The issue is a question of relationship with the masses and whether the Front gives to the masses or takes from them? Many parties take from the masses their support, their popularity, and their votes. However, what is important is how to give to the masses and giving starts with an understanding of the demands, problems, and feelings of the masses, a study of the solutions, and a true effort to implement these solutions. In this case the masses will feel a sense of participation and will feel that the Front expresses and implements their demands, solves their problems, and preserves their feelings. This is the way the Front can succeed. Otherwise, if the Front is established and is isolated from the masses demands and needs, it will not last or if it survives it will not be effective.

/Question/ You mentioned that the Front includes, from your point of view, the intelligentsia, among others. What do you mean by intelligentsia?

/Answer/ I mean each leadership that has an influence on the people because if we overlook a certain opinion, it will be spread either openly and independently or secretly.

/Question/ Does this apply to the clergy?

/Answer/ Insofar as the intelligentsia is concerned, we have the examples of Mustafa Amin and Tawfiq al-Hakim, and others. Moreover, we cannot overlook the clergy; otherwise, some members of the clergy might follow an independent tendency that has a separate influence from the Front.

/Question/ Does this mean that the church and the Islamic groups will be represented in the Front?

/Answer/ If the Front's objective is to reach one opinion and not to disregard other opinions that might grow independently but to attempt through debate to reconcile the various opinions, in this case and in general the Front can include all the elements that agree on the principle of debate without preconditions.

/Question/ And who would represent the Orthodox Church?

/Answer/ Since it would be good for the church to have someone represent it without contentiousness, the church could be asked to nominate a candidate to represent it who would have an opinion in this matter.

Interview With Shaykh Abu Isma'il

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 11 Nov 85 pp 28-30

/Interview with Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il by Aida Hilal; date and place not specified/

/Text/ I do not want to hide the fact that the interview with Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il was tough and exciting.

When I went to see him he welcomed me by saying, "Here I meet you with bare feet and head." I then sat with a group of his followers that kept growing, and ate and refreshments were served without interruption.

I asked him for a private moment to conduct our interview but he preferred to remain among his followers. Our shaykh spoke as a preacher among his flock and the tone of his talk intensified on several occasions and provoked the admiration of those present and I had to calm down the tone of the discussion many times. The shaykh answered several times that this is the only type of talk and defied me to publish his interview.

/Question/ We would like to start by asking you your opinion concerning the appeal to form the "National Front."

/Answer/ My dear, I speak as one of the learned men of religion on the Islam that I preach. Therefore, I could be told that I am right or wrong in my discussion on Islam.

/Question/ Therefore, do we find the concept of the "National Front" in Islamic political thought?

/Answer/ Islam is the only appeal for its followers, and it is an appeal of kindness and justice between its followers and those who oppose them but who accept peace as a method, and an appeal to defend against those who use aggression as their only tool. As to the fact that Islam is an appeal to brotherhood, this is clear in God's words: "Believers are brothers." Moreover, broterhood in Islam is such that the Prophet--God bless him and grant him salvation--described it as an organic tie in his saying: "You can see Muslims in their friendliness, affection, and compassion towards each other as one body which becomes feverish and is unable to rest when one of its parts is suffering."

Unity in Islam is based on two dimensions: doctrine and behavior based on that doctrine. Doctrine in Islam is not a maze but is clear in its tenets: "We should believe in God, the day of judgment, the angels, the Holy Book, and all the prophets." The Prophet--God bless him and grant him salvation--stated, "I am, like other prophets before me, like a man who built a house and decorated it except for one corner of the house where he missed putting a brick. This led all those who saw the house to comment that it was a beautiful house but it would be magnificent if a brick were placed where it is now missing. I am this brick and I am the last of the prophets." This is the doctrine and if one of its tenets is broken, it is itself broken. However, if all its tenets are followed, then people of different nationalities, e.g., Bilal al-Habashi /the Ethiopian/, Salman al-Farisi /the Persian/ and Suhayb al-Rumi /the Byzantine/, are united in the melting pot of brotherhood.

If unity based on doctrine is fulfilled, we still need the existence of behavior that is based on the tenets of this doctrine and brotherhood among Muslims and not the brotherly disagreement with those who oppose our doctrine. God stated in the Surat al-Mumtahinah, "God does not forbid you to deal with those who have not fought you because of your religion and who have not driven you out of your homes. On the contrary you should be charitable and just towards them, God loves those who are just."

Therefore, those who do not accept our doctrine are free in their belief. "No coercion in religion." God told his Prophet, "If your God had wished, all the people on earth would have believed. Do you see fit then for you to coerce people to believe?" Furthermore, God also stated, "Repeat God's truth: those who wish to believe it may do so and those who choose not to believe it are also free to do so. Each of us will be judged by God according to our relations with Him and our relations to each other. "You have your religion and I have mine." I owe to him who is at peace with me charity and justice. This is why the Prophet--God bless him and grant him salvation--promised the Jews of Madinah freedom of religion and worship so long as they were peaceful. Moreover, he demanded from them only one thing, i.e., that they join forces with the Muslims to defend the common hejira nation, "al-Madinah," if it is attacked by an external enemy.

Furthermore, we should not forget that 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, when he entered Syria, refused to perform the noon prayer in the Church of the Resurrection so that it would remain forever a church for its people.

Moreover, our disputes today with the Zionists are not due to the fact that they are Jews but because they are aggressors and my loud criticism of America is not because it is Christian but because it supports my enemy. Therefore, you see that Islam is a religion that advocates Muslim and international brotherhood and Muslim brotherhood is based on doctrine. Behavior that subscribes to doctrine and human brotherhood is based on charity and justice towards those who are at peace with us and on defense against those who attack us.

On this basis I ask: Does the appeal of our brother, Mr al-Sharqawi, for the Front take all the above into consideration or does it ignore it? This is a question I do not require you to answer but one that I have thought of.

/Question/ Your excellency, it seems we are talking about two different subjects. I have asked you about the National Front and you speak to me about brotherhood in Islam.

/Answer/ I speak of the Front.

/Question/ The Front is a coalition between political forces to achieve a certain objective.

/Answer/ Mr al-Sharqawi called for the Front in a period that saw the appearance of secularists, freemasons, atheists, and even those who attack Islam under the guise of Islam. These are the ones who have been dominant since the beginning of the call for the Front, actively attacking in the press, television, and conferences the Islamic Shari'ah, like this secularist or this freemason or this atheist and those who attack Islam.

/Question/ These are secondary subjects and I would beg of you not to mention any names.

We Welcome a Front That Is Based on Islam

/Question/ The political arena is witnessing an appeal for the creation of a National Front between parties and political forces. What do you think of this appeal?

/Answer/ 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi in his speech on the latest sedition, according to him, attacked those who called for the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah and alleged that the Shari'ah is being implemented in Egypt and wondered what these people want. I in turn ask him: Where are God's rules? Where is the law of God concerning usury? What are these widespread expressions? What are these positive laws that shed blood and ruin honor? And what are we seeing in the media night and day?

Furthermore, I do not need all these questions because I can refer to what he wrote in the article in which he alleged that the Shari'ah is being implemented. He said, "They want to cut off the thief's hand as if they were not content by just locking up or imprisoning him." He then proceeded to support the positive law over the Shari'ah law as a means to stopping theft. This is a man who is guided by his whim and his devil against God's law. Our constitution, which is the basis of our system and which has been voted on unanimously by all the people of Egypt, recognizes that the Islamic Shari'ah is the main source of Egyptian laws. We adhere to this constitution and we consider any deviation from it as a deviation from the system.

If he wanted the National Front to be a front whose dimension is organized by God and whose objectives are organized by Islam, then we welcome it indeed. However, if he wanted the Front to include all nationalities, he has to realize that Islam is a religion that throws nationalities into hell.

/Question/ What do you mean by nationalities?

/Answer/ Nationality is an adherence to race, e.g., Arab nationality, Kurdish, Persian...British imperialism incited this appeal.

/Question/ The issue of nationality is not a part of the appeal to the National Front because Egypt does not know multiple nationalities. Here in Egypt we are all Arabs and we represent one nationality.

/Possible answer, not so designated/ I would like to ask one question: This Front, which was to be used to end sedition, what is its position concerning the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah? This is a question I address to those calling for the Front.

The Front and Sedition

/Question/ I understand from this that your condition for participation in the Front is the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah?

/Answer/ We cannot disrupt, continue, become friends or enemies except in the name of God. This is the condition. When we quarrel, or act in a brotherly fashion, we do so in the name of God. Moreover, we extend or withdraw our hand in the service of God. This is our tendency and we have no other.

/Question/ Does this mean in your view that the Front's objective should be to implement the Islamic Shari'ah?

/Answer/ In my opinion the time span in which this appeal has evolved makes me reject this appeal because Mr al-Sharqawi called the appeal to implement the Islamic Shari'ah a sedition and wanted a front to end this sedition.

/Question/ However, Mr al-Sharqawi asserted later that the Front is needed to guarantee the rights of the nation and the citizen.

/Answer/ God--may he be revered and exalted--determines rights and obligations and if the Front accepts Islam as its base, I would gladly sacrifice my life for it but not for a front created by al-Sharqawi and based on his suggestions. If the Front is based on Islam I see it wide enough to include the Muslim and the Christian, i.e., every Egyptian.

The Crisis and Its Solution

/Question/ Do you see a crisis or a problem other than the implementation of the Shari'ah that necessitates the creation of a national front?

/Answer/ The country's crises will not be solved but with the will of God, who stated that God will not change what is wrong with a people until they change what is in themselves; solution of the economic problem is in Islam. Who sends the water, grows the crop, and who revives the religious motive in the soul of the manufacturer so that he can bring his product to perfection, and in the soul of the merchant so that he can be honest and sincere. If the spirit of Islam is revived then the bread problem will be solved. In Sudan 200 million feddans are suitable for agriculture. Moreover, the Gulf area has the capital and we have the manpower. However, what we hear about importing three out of every four loaves of bread constitutes a stab in our throats. Islam is the vehicle that solves. If you want a solution to our economic problems, you can find it in Islam; and if you want a solution to our problems of underdevelopment and our social problems, you can find it in Islam; and if you want a solution to our military problems, you will find it in Islam. Moreover, the solution to the problems concerning the relationship with Arabs and with the whole world can be found in Islam.

/Question/ In your opinion what are the components of the Front?

/Answer/ I told you I speak of Islam, which I preach.

/Question/ Therefore, from an Islamic point of view, what should the Front be made of?

/Answer/ I cannot judge individuals except with one sentence: "Islam is an authoritative source for people and not vice versa."

/Question/ This statement needs clarification.

/Answer/ I cannot explain it any better.

The Brotherhood, the Wafd, and the Front

[Question] Can we say that this is the opinion of the Muslim Brotherhood?

[Answer] I do not speak for the Muslim Brotherhood but I can say that the Muslin Brotherhood is seeking now a different road than the Wafd's.

Islam is an authoritative source for people and not vice versa. The errors of Muslims are their responsibility; the errors of the army are its responsibility; and the errors of the judiciary are its responsibility. However, you do not abolish the army because one officer is a traitor, or abolish the judiciary because a judge accepted a bribe, and you do not abolish the Shari'ah because an emir is a traitor.

[Question] Do you mean that any front that is composed of non-Islamic components is to be rejected?

[Answer] I did not say that and I have not accused anyone of not following the tenets of Islam. However, I do welcome a front that subscribes to God's Shari'ah. If we accept that, then the differences in opinion can be settled based on God's saying, "O believers, obey God, his prophet and your rulers." To obey God is always good, to obey the Prophet is always good, and to obey a fallible ruler can be good but can also be bad. That is why God said, "If you disagree on something, seek the sayings of God and his Prophet."

[Question] If we assume that someone other than 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi called for the Front, would you then accept the Front?

[Answer] 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, and Father Basiliyus have welcomed the Front. I also welcome the Front but with my conditions that I have referred to. Without these conditions the Front does not interest me one way or another.

[Question] Does this mean that the Front must accept your conditions?

[Answer] I welcome Pope Shanudah in the Front and on the basis of my conditions he can be reassured about his church, his faith, and his people because there is no coercion in religion. He can expect reverence and justice from me so long as his intention towards me is peaceful. I stated in the People's Assembly, "I would sacrifice my life for national unity," and Islam is the best shield for national unity in Egypt. Our real crisis is that we do not understand Islam.

We advocate an Islam that respects people's rights, even those of unbelievers. God has said, "If a polytheist becomes your neighbor live next to him until he hears the word of God" and after he hears the word of God he has the right to become a Muslim or to remain an unbeliever. God--may he be revered and exalted--has voided anything that results from coercion. Coercion in faith is hypocrisy and coercion in unbelief is invalid.

I would like to make this appeal at the end of my discussion: May God make Islam more powerful with the assistance of Husni Mubarak, the government, the National Party, the opposition, and all those who are powerful in the two worlds. I am an advocate of Islam and I do not call for factionalism but only for Islam.

1925 National Coalition

Cairo AL-AHRAN AL-IATISADI in Arabic 11 Nov 85 p 31

/Text/ The political situation in 1925 was bad as a whole: the Constitution was suspended, the political parties were fighting and had severed their relations, the press in general was full of abuses and slander which it directed against its opponents, and the government was controlled by a reactionary cabinet that did not represent the nation in any way.

The historian 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i stated in his book following the Egyptian revolution: People were fed up with this situation and were attempting to find a way out of it until the late Amin Bey al-Rafi'i was successful in his appeal which appeared in AL-AKHBAR newspaper. Its result was the revival of constitutional life and the return of unity at the same time. His appeal received acceptance from all directions. In the beginning of November 1925 Amin Bey al-Rafi'i had called for the necessity of convening Parliament, insisting that the disbandment of Parliament was invalid and that the constituion was not a mere piece of paper. The political parties rejoiced at al-Rafi'i's appeal and the National Party was the first party to respond to it. The National, Wafd, and Liberals Constitutional parties issued statements in which they declared their compliance with the appeal to convene Parliament on Saturday, 21 November 1925 at 10 am, and they registered their protest in case the government used force to prevent Parliament from convening.

The government was perturbed by this appeal and the success it received and saw the convening of Parliament as a threat to its position and the possibility that this might lead to its fall. Therefore, it tried all means to prevent the convening of Parliament and moved a military force to the House of Parliament to prevent it from convening on the scheduled day (21 November 1925) and issued a resolution stating that it would prevent by force any meeting inside Parliament or in any other place. Moreover, on Friday, 20 November, the government deployed the armed forces in the streets and around the House of Parliament. When the deputies and senators saw that a meeting in the House of Parliament would not be possible because of armed force, they agreed on Friday evening to convene the meeting at the Continental Hotel.

Meeting of Parliament in the Continental Hotel

The members of Parliament met at the Continental Hotel on Saturday, 21 November 1925, at 9 in the morning and agreed unanimously to protest the unconstitutional actions of the cabinet that prevented by force the members from meeting in the House of Parliament. Moreover, they decided to propose vote of confidence on the cabinet and to convene Parliament at dates and places agreed upon by the members of Parliament. Crowds of Egyptians gathered during the meeting of

Parliament in front of the Continental Hotel and cheered and endorsed those assembled there. Emir 'Umar Tusun and the rest of the royal family supported the meeting of deputies and the return to constitutional life.

Rapprochement Between the Parties

Following the meeting at the Continental Hotel signs of rapprochment and harmony multiplied among the three parties, the press refrained from attacking their political opponents, and a good spirit evolved from the appeal to unite the ranks. Furthermore, Sa'd Zaghlul, chairman of the House of Delegates, invited members of the National Party and the Liberals Constitutional Party to a tea party at al-Sa'di Club on 11 December 1925 where he made a speech in which he supported unity and harmony between parties.

Committee of the Coalition Parties

An executive committee for the coalition parties was established in January 1926 to organize the joint efforts of the parties in support of the coalition between them: Fathallah Barakat, 'Ali al-Shams, 'Alawi-al-Jazzar, and Wisa Wasif represented the Wafd Party. Hafiz Ramadan, Ahmad Lutfi, 'Abd-al-Hamid Sa'id, Muhammad Zaki 'Ali, and Ahmad Wajdi represented the National Party, and Muhammad Mahmud, Mahmud 'Abd-al-Raziq Hafiz 'Afifi, and Ahmad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar represented the Liberals Constitutional Party. The parties agreed to issue a joint resolution to boycott the elections and to convene a national conference with the nation's senators, deputies, and leading personalities to discuss the abnormal situation in which the nation found itself and to prescribe a solution for it.

The National Conference With the Parties

The National Conference was convened on Friday, 19 February 1926, in the garden of Muhammad Mahmud Pasha's house on al-Falaki street and the following members were invited: members of the board of directors of the coalition parties (the Wafd, National Party, Liberals Constitutionalists), members of the House of Deleages, and members of the Senate.

The conference was chaired by Sa'd Zaghlul Pasha, who set in the middle of the podium, and 'Adli Yakan Pasha and 'Abd-al-Khaliq Tharwat sat on his left and right sides. Sa'd Zaghlul made a speech in which he mentioned the violation of the constitution and parliamentary life by the cabinet of Zayyur Pasha. In addition he praised the unity of ranks and the coalition among parties, and suggested holding new elections based on the law of direct election. The majority of those present agreed on the above and an executive committee was elected from the conference to pursue the matter. Moreover, the government complied with the resolutions of the conference.

The government designated 22 May 1926 as direct election day for the House of Delegates according to the request of the coalition parties. In addition, the coalition parties agreed not to compete in the elections and each party promised not to run one of its candidates in the districts that were assigned to someone else. A statement was issued giving the Wafd 160 /electoral/

districts, the Liberals Constitutionalists 45 districts, and the National Party 9 districts. However, it was permitted to compete with the Wafd in three of the latter's allocated districts.

The resignation of the cabinet of Zayyur Pasha was inevitable following the results of the election because its main party, al-Ittihad, won only 5 districts out of a total of 214 districts. Before the cabinet's submission of its resignation, the coalition parties were negotiating the formation of the new cabinet. Sa'd Zaghlul (the Wafd majority leader) relinquished to 'Adli Yakan the prime ministry provided that latter agreed with 'Abd-al-Khaliq Tharwat to distribute the seats among the members of the Wafd and the Liberals Constitutional parties. As to the National Party it refused to participate in the cabinet despite the fact that it was an important element of the constitutional coalition which returned parliamentary life.

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CSO: 4504/100

EGYPT

ISRAEL'S TABA POLICY VIEWED IN REGIONAL TERMS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Jan 86 p 1

[Commentary by Mahfuz al-Ansari: "Taba and the Israeli Paper: Story of Arbitration and Conciliation"]

[Text] A careful reading of the recent Israeli position on the future of Egyptian-Israeli relations and what form they should assume--this form whose first paragraph, dealing with the Taba question, caused much hubbub in the Israeli media--reveals that Israel has offered Egypt a plan "for rejection." It submitted a plan which it knew in advance, and indeed was hoping, that Egypt would unequivocally reject in form and substance.

The reason for this assumption is:

Not only the 13 articles which followed the first one dealing with Taba, articles, or rather conditions, to which we will return promptly, but rather, the reason is the open-diplomacy technique Israel followed when it submitted its plan, a plan for a new propaganda campaign based on an obscure concept and a deficient or distorted acceptance of the principle of arbitration. A study of this matter from its beginning reveals that Israel took its plan to world public opinion, Western public opinion particularly.

It delivered this plan, particularly its first paragraph about accepting "the idea of arbitration" and not the principle of arbitration, to Western news agencies so that they could broadcast and announce throughout the world Israel's acceptance of the Egyptian demand for arbitration to settle the Taba dispute without going into the details of this acceptance from the standpoint of its form, content, and accompanying terms.

After the plan was "cheered" internationally amid huge media fanfare, these articles, with their wording and explicit and implicit expressions, were delivered to the concerned side, Egypt, by Muhammad Basyuni, Egyptian charge d'affaires in Tel-Aviv.

Acceptance...And Rejection

What was novel and "delightful" in the Egyptian handling of this problem was the seriousness and shrewdness with which Egypt dealt with this issue in every step and every detail, at least so far.

If Israel can submit a plan with "media fanfare," hoping to exact a negative Egyptian reaction enabling Israel to bury the plan with similar "media fanfare," the substance and basic element of which is an attack on Egypt and Egyptian diplomacy,

Then Egyptian diplomacy is capable of foiling this opportunity. It is capable of discerning and seizing upon a particular that concerns it, the particular of accepting the principle of arbitration in itself and considering this particular of the plan as an affirmative element that requires discussion and debate without closing the road with hasty rejection.

If Israel, on its part and on the part of Western media, wants it to be "open diplomacy" whereby it can bring matters and the articles out into the open "bluntly" and "flagrantly" in order to involve pro-Israel public opinion in the West and public opinion in Egypt that rejects any infringement on regional rights related to territory and sovereignty; if this is what it wants to do in disregard for quiet diplomacy, the diplomacy of parlors and closed discussion and negotiating rooms deemed necessary by such disputes;

If this is what it wants, Egyptian diplomacy and Egyptian policy have no objection. They in fact deal with vital national causes openly and candidly.

In fact, following a painstaking discussion between the president and his senior advisors about the points of the Israeli concept,

And following the agreement on the broad lines of action and dealing with this plan,

And following the definition of positions,

Following all of this, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, minister of foreign affairs, carried the Israeli paper with its 14 points to parliament for consideration and debate to see what parliament had to say and to formulate Egypt's final position with which to confront the Israeli position with vision and discussion, with reason and wisdom and with encounters and talks with the other side while keeping an open mind able and willing to hear everything.

But at the same time, it is capable of rejecting and refuting anything that infringes upon its territory, sovereignty or national dignity.

It is capable of assessing options in keeping with the UN charter and international law as well as with the constitution and laws that govern and guide Egyptian relations and conduct, internally and externally.

Extraordinary Negotiator

We must, following the above presentation, address directly the articles included in the Israeli concept in order to study some of them. Let us pause before their introduction or preamble. Let us pause before this new type of arbitration which can metaphorically be called "arbitration by conciliation" which Israel has presented in its paper or memorandum. But before we do that, I would like to stop at a "station" before the 14 article station.

The station in question is that of the Israeli negotiator where I will relate a short story which may already have been told.

Following the signing of the truce accords between Egypt and Israel in 1949, the United Nations wanted to convert the truce accord into an agreement of lasting peace in the region, especially since the shooting had stopped.

The international organization formed a tripartite committee, including the United States, Turkey, and France, in addition to Egypt and Israel.

Israel thought at first that the Egyptian side would refuse to sit with it at the same table in direct negotiations and in the presence of committee members.

The Egyptian side disappointed it by informing the committee that it did not object to a direct meeting and that it no longer adhered to the "Rhodes" formula.

Following this step, the Egyptian side, between the second half of 1949 and 1950, asked that the basis of negotiations be the international resolutions passed by the United Nations regarding the issue in dispute, the struggle over the future of Palestine. The "logical" Egyptian request meant that:

--If Israel was established by a UN resolution, one that was barely a year old, it behooved it to comply with the resolutions of an organization that gave it its birth certificate.

--This meant that compliance with the international resolution could only be interpreted as Israel's return to the borders which this resolution established and circumscribed, namely withdrawal from the territory it had captured.

--It also meant the establishment of a Palestinian state on the other half of the land in accordance with the "Israeli existence" resolution itself.

The strange thing, logically, conventionally, and legally is that Israel refused. It refused "direct negotiations" and refused to sit at the negotiating table, namely, to negotiate from where it stood and with what it "had!" To negotiate from a position of where its forces, armies, and support were stationed!

The members of the 5-member committee--Egypt, France, America, Turkey, and Israel--remained over 6 months in the French capital with nothing to do save persuade the Egyptian side to give in to the Israeli terms or to try to budge Israel toward the table without commitment.

They all returned to their countries without a meeting.

The purpose of this story is its moral because it reflects the essence of the Israeli conception of negotiation, its negotiating technique. The fact of the matter is that the Israeli negotiating technique is outstanding.

--Outstanding because it always fortifies itself with a fait accompli.

--Outstanding because it begins with and, indeed, adheres to a maximum, known in advance, that the other side cannot accept, even if it wanted to.

It places, indeed pushes, the other side into a corner to force it to accept the absolute minimum.

When the time for negotiations finally arrives, and negotiations call for mutual concessions, the Israeli side, clinging to the impossible, gives concessions, worthless, meaningless concessions, from a vacuum.

And the other side gives concessions from living flesh.

The Israeli negotiating technique is also "outstanding" because it is marked by a creative and innovative trait. This creative trait is based on extremely "fallacious" and highly "dogmatic" dialectical formulas.

Such deceptive and fallacious innovative formulas are plentiful and always fascinating to the West.

They fascinate the West with their imagination and "deceptive" accuracy, just as they fascinate it with their origin, for they are derived from the old and, at the same time, eternal, imperialist theory. Such formulas are a "justification" for changing borders and capturing territory...and usurpation. We will pause briefly to give a small example of such formulas before resuming our discussion on the 13 articles.

One day, while the "American partner" and friend, Kissinger, was working and mediating, Israel came out with an idea and a formula:

--Separation of sovereignty and security.

In the sense of combining two opposites: the right to sovereignty and the right to security.

In more elaborate terms, it is possible to acknowledge the right of sovereignty "of Egypt, for example," over this piece of land and to recognize it as an integral part of Egyptian territory!

But, at the same time, and due to Israeli security requirements, Israel has the right to keep its forces with their military equipment on this piece of land as a guarantee of Israeli safety and security.

Arbitration by Conciliation

The formula Israel put forth in its recent paper, with its articles and "conciliatory arbitration!", is a new phenomenon and a new sophisticated interpretation of these formulas and this old Israeli technique.

Arbitration, in international law and international custom, is completely different from conciliation in its conditions and in its rules.

Conciliation in international law is a political tool for settling international issues and conflicts. And it requires, by virtue of its "political" nature, an international mediator chosen by the conflicting parties to reach a compromise that takes into account political considerations governing the conflict.

The outcome of conciliation of this premise is not binding on either of the two parties except by mutual consent because it is not based on any binding rules or principles. Therefore, the results of conciliation are nothing but recommendations the mediator submits to the parties for approval or rejection, according to each party's calculations.

As for arbitration, it is something else, something different.

Arbitration is a judicial tool and its man is a judge ruled by law. He pronounces his judgments on the basis of international law with its provisions and regulations, provisions that are established and based on historical and realistic facts substantiated by proof, data and evidence.

Therefore, arbitration decisions and judgments are binding on the conflicting parties. Hence the confusion between conciliation and arbitration--as stated in the Israeli memorandum--is an intentional confusion aimed at deception and delusion,

And [aimed at] the Egyptian rejection from the outset of the principle or idea of conciliation in the Taba question.

There is no conciliation in anything related to sovereignty and territory because conciliation is a compromise, if agreement is reached, and compromise in this case means relinquishing a piece of the soil. It means forsaking regional safety. And so long as conciliation is unacceptable on this essential premise, there is no room for haggling over the future of any piece of land, regardless of its size or location.

And the fate of this piece, when it is returned, will be governed by the same provisions that rule all the other parts of the country with its entries, outlets, borders, without distinction.

Consequently, the matter of going into or out of Taba following its return to Egypt by any means is a question regulated by Egyptian law, like any other piece of national land with full sovereignty and control.

Likewise, the future of old, new, and future activity in this piece of Egyptian land is the same as that of other activities on national soil. If the Israeli hotel is an issue, Egypt has offered to buy this hotel and the offer still stands; there can be no other way.

Normalization and Regional Peace

Another matter in the Israeli paper is the forcible linkage between the issue in question, Taba, and a large number of other pending political questions, questions hinging not on the future of Taba, bur rather on constant and persistent Israeli practices and excesses throughout the region...on the future of peace, stability, and security.

Matters hinging on:

--The Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

--On giving impetus to the peace process.

--On the future of the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and South Lebanon.

--On the status of Palestinians under occupation.

--On persistent violations of the sanctity of al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy places in the occupied territories.

Strange is the forcible linkage between the return of the Egyptian ambassador and the opening of the doors of cultural, economic, and informational cooperation, and this linkage between Taba and the freedom to reach the mass media, as mentioned in the memorandum.

Stranger still is the linkage between the meaningless prologue about accepting a kind of arbitration devoid of any content and between the Ra's al-Barakah incident, the Sulayman Khatir incident.

Such linkage and such practice, its strangeness notwithstanding, is totally in keeping with the Israeli technique, in keeping with Israel's negotiating technique.

However, the important thing worthy of attention at the conclusion of this discussion today is:

If Israel has come to realize that, in order to settle disputes, all other problems impeding cooperation must be solved and a shift made from cold peace to warm peace; if it has come to realize that closed doors must be opened; if it is aware of all this and believes that settlement requires all this, including the return of the Egyptian ambassador, Then it must also realize that if it is satisfied with, and indeed demands all of this, it must on its part begin with itself. It must realize that peace is indivisible and that the treaty to which Egypt is adhering more and more is one for establishing a lasting and comprehensive peace.

It has to realize that Security Council Resolution 242, on which the treaty is based, is a resolution that pledges to settle the regional conflict. The regional conflict, as presented in the resolution's preamble and articles, calls for its withdrawal from all the territory it occupied in 1967.

The second mainstay of the treaty and the two agreements within the framework of Resolution 338 urges the international conference to settle the conflict with the participation of all concerned parties.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres must remember that his extremist predecessor, Begin, recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in the second framework agreement and today, while speaking in the name of moderation, he ignores these rights.

Mr Peres must also complete his withdrawal from Lebanon before talking about the return of the Egyptian ambassador.

He must move toward a joint settlement before talking about total normalization.

Otherwise, our contention at the beginning of this discussion, that the Israeli paper is one of calculations put forth by the Egyptian rejection and the beginning of a propaganda campaign against Egypt, holds true.

Peace is indivisible and movement toward peace requires the adoption of practical measures on more than one front. The fronts nominated to adopt such measures are numerous.

Exploitation of the current deteriorating situation in the Arab region must be in the interest of peace.

Some parties, including or headed by Israel, stand to gain from such conditions.

But everyone must bear in mind that this state of affairs cannot go on and that what some people may gain because of the weakness of others may cost them dearly later on.

The time is right for a lasting, just, and honorable peace, a peace that can rectify the present and shape the future.

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EGYPT

BRIEFS

ATTACK ON COMMUNISM--Security authorities in Egypt undertook an operation to purge both high and low-level employees in various Egyptian ministries and public sector companies. This operation will track down Communists who work in both high and low-level positions in these facilities, especially those who have direct dealings with the public. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that a move to transfer a number of Communists has taken place. They have been moved to other posts which have no direct dealings with the public. This took place quietly. It was discovered subsequently that some of the Communists, while they were working in security positions in some of the ministries, were able to freeze decisions to relocate them which were issued at the end of the era of late President Anwar al-Sadat. [Text] [London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 19-25 Feb 86 p 10] /6091

WOULD-BE PROPHETS TRIED--In recent times, the number of those claiming to prophethood in Egypt has increased. After Dr Burayqi', the so-called "Prophet of Alexandria," three religious organizations emerged, each claiming its own alleged prophet. Some of them said that their prophet was the expected Mahdi. Sources in the Interior Ministry confirmed that the three religious organizations are not related to each other. These organizations, which have been under investigation for some time, and which had emerged at different times, adhere to radical and inconsistent views, but are primarily centered around claims to prophethood. The strange thing is that most of those who have joined these organizations and have been accused recently are either educated youths who should have the knowledge and faith that the Prophet Muhammad is the seal of the prophets, or who work in various positions which should have immunized them against heresy, myths, and superstitions. Last Sunday, the Egyptian judiciary concluded the case of Dr Burayqi'. Along with pretending to prophethood, he was convicted of making advances to women affiliated with his group, kissing them on the lips several times. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison. Also various verdicts were issued against 19 of his suspected followers. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 24 Jan 86 p 9] /6091

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LIBYA

HEAD OF MILITANT ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION OUTLINES VIEWS

Beirut AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI in Arabic 13, 20 Jan 86

[Interview with Muhammad Ahmad al-Sharif, Chairman of the Islamic Call Society, by Ahmad Farahat: "How Can We Speak of a Real Return to Islam?"]

[13 Jan 86 pp 42-44]

[Text] Ideologically, from a totally objective point of view, Islam is in the forefront today. It is foremost among alternative intellectual and cultural preoccupations, especially since people here have come fairly close to a state of exhausting the other ideologies that have appeared in the past 60 years. Some people can no longer do anything but go back to roots and adhere to the cultural religious heritage of the region, out of the possibility that that might lead to the adoption of a firm stand in the confrontation -- the confrontation with Israel and the West, which are seeking to break up the Arab nation and fragment it by every means.

But can Islam, as a religion, face modern challenges on their own terms?

What Islam does this mean? What Moslems? How can critical thought penetrate the traditional religious structure?

On top of this, how can Islam advance with successes that provide strength in the midst of elements of exploitation of the problem of minorities within the single Arab society? What about the issues of controversy or conflicting views between Arab nationalism and Islam, especially now that appeals have been raised stating that nationalities are "the satan of danger" to Islam and that the most absolutely dangerous of these nationalities is Arab nationalism?

These questions, some old and some new, have been highlighted by the current situation, which is seeking rapid answers to them, especially since non-traditional Islamic thinkers have appeared today on the Arab stage whom one can converse with in total intellectual openness and to whom it is consequently possible to express their views regarding a different form of Islam from a more sincere and intelligent position and one of greater conviction. Among these people stands Dr Muhammad Ahmad al-Sharif, secretary of the Islamic Call Society in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. The man received us in his office in the society's main center in Tripoli. He was extremely gracious and hospitable. In the course of more than 2 hours, we recorded the facts of the following conversation on tape together:

[Question] Dr Muhammad Ahmad al-Sharif, what is your psycho-cultural explanation for the phenomenon of the Islamic current's rise to the forefront today?

[Answer] This question has been raised more than once on more than one occasion or situation. The premise sometimes ignores the character of Islam itself. Islam has been known, even among some Arabs who were students of the thinking of European orientalists, as a religion in the European sense, in the sense that it is a religion, that it is a subject which deals with man's spiritual affairs and consequently has no connection with the affairs of political, economic, material and social life except as it is sometimes connected with the subject of the family.

On the other hand, progress has been viewed as a Western affair, that is, in light of what has happened and is happening in Europe and other Western countries. As you know there have been distortions of logic and knowledge which reflect the cultural abasement of their proponents and their spirit of deep inadequacy relative to the other side, the West. They are like the idols of the cave or the idols of the authorities, masters of distortions of time and place. God have mercy on Ibn Khaldun who said in effect that the conquered person is always avid to imitate the conqueror.

While the West progressed militarily and technologically beyond the East starting in the 19th century, and waves of direct colonialist dominance of the Islamic world later occurred, this developed a feeling among people who wanted their countries to progress that they needed the military and technical progress that had taken place in Europe and the West in general so that the desired leaps forward could be realized in their own countries.

However, in the course of the search for this material or technological progress, excesses occurred which have led to an appeal for what resembles total conformity with the stages and circumstances the West has passed through. As you know, an idea emerged in some areas of the Arab Levant, and in Egypt in particular, which holds that progress must come about through the quest for conformity with the revolutions in society, politics and values which occurred in Europe. Since a revolution against the church occurred there and has led to progress, the same thing must happen here. Since we do not have a church, the mosque has been considered like a Moslem church, out of the desire to realize progress as they claim it. The proponents of these appeals have been influenced by the French social school and other European intellectual schools and tendencies.

Let me make a modification by stating that what unfortunately helped this sort of appeal was the spread of fraud and certain types of extremist mysticism in the Ottoman Empire, in addition of course to intellectual and scientific backwardness and the spread of what is called "religious dominance," which has no relationship to Islam but is a sort of dominance by people whom the temporal authorities have used to reinforce their position and implant it in terms of repression (by means of a formal religious facade, of course). The groups through which the Ottoman guardian used to rule are well known. These same groups survived until the advent of Western colonialism, which strengthened their presence, gave them concrete form and created for them what could be called "feast days," thereby attempting to deprive the political action of Arab and Islamic society of content by pleasant, attractive activities such as the phenomenon of dervishes which was widespread in more than one place in the Arab nation and the Islamic countries.

Another factor helping the spread of this sort of appeal, as well, was the emergence of a class of graduates of French, English and Italian missionary schools with which the capitals of our Arab Islamic countries were packed. It is well known that these people, who were culturally formed by the whim of the West, accept the explanations of orientalists and Western analysts of the nature of all societies, including their Arab and Islamic ones. One suspect analysis (which became widespread in Germany in the 19th century) holds that the East cannot rise up at all, because it lives in a state of spiritualism and believes in dictatorship, and this is the nature of the Easterners. They are led and they are driven. This sort of analysis prompted some Easterners, especially the graduates of missions, to foresake their oriental nature and their Arabhood, and even their Islam. You know on the other hand that there are intellectual schools which arose in Egypt that had followers who believed that Egypt is part of the Mediterranean and therefore is part of European civilization, and it must be restored to its true state so that we and it can progress. You will remember that Taha Husayn was given a prize in Greece because he was concerned with Greek thought, on grounds that that was thought closely attached to the state the future of culture in Egypt must possess.

[Question] Dr Husayn Fawzi is well known for "Pharaonic ideology" and "pro-European thinking."

[Answer] And Salamah Musa, and others who propounded these approaches. Without going deeply into them now, I can say that these approaches created intellectual currents which later were refined into what we could call secular nationalism or the idea which holds that "religion belongs to God and the nation belongs to everyone," the idea of coexisting with an "Islamic church" or paying heed to the religious institution from the moral standpoint while giving the temporal authorities freedom with respect to the remaining affairs of life, that is, separating religion from the state, and other approaches which now have proponents here to a great extent. All these approaches held that there was no relationship between religion and progress, between religion and social, political and economic systems. Many political and intellectual books appeared in the Arab nation in the fifties and sixties which stated that it was necessary to alienate the role of religion and remove its influence in the area of Arab social life.

This all took place in the framework of experimenting with ways and means for confronting colonialist challenges. This was natural, because people are always looking for means of liberation, progress and movement in life. The Arabs' prime cause, the cause of Palestine, has prompted many people to seek ways of confronting Zionist and settler colonialism and the people who are before and behind it. Therefore, there have been many political and ideological attempts and individual theories to get the stagnant Arab situation into movement. Anyone who has tried to theorize in order to be delivered from the state of backwardness we are suffering from as well as from the noose of direct foreign hegemony by embracing one ideological position or another could be sincere.

Now, after these many years, now that our masses have experimented with all the ideas and means for resisting the enemy, almost all of which have failed grievously, these masses have themselves returned to face the enemies through an examination of their positions, their authenticity and heritage, their true heritage, which fashioned progress for them in the past and to which they turn or in whose light they act in accordance with the requirements of the times. Even with respect to the Jews in occupied Palestine, as their secular leaders say, what preserved the children of Israel was the sabbath, not the mass of the Jews. It was the Old Testament which preserved the children of Israel, not the Jews who preserved the Old Testament.

It is adherence to what brought this nation up in one of its periods that has given the multitude of Arab Moslems the feeling of "returning" to Islam and seeking to rise up against the enemies by means of it. Consequently, this great activity among young people and various groups and organizations which are active on the Arab stage, whether in the military, political or ordinary civilian area, has taken place, and it has created this vision which today is called the "Islamic awakening," or the Islamic return to consciousness.

The person I was interviewing went on to say:

"People who have set out readymade Western frameworks in their view of the nature of the Arab nation and Islamic society might be amazed by this sort of conclusion, but people who analyze the true nature of this society and the notion of Islam, the Koran and the heritage in its true state can be deeply aware of the matter of the 'Islamic awakening' and not be surprised by it."

[Question] Dr Muhammad, a number of interconnected issues have been raised in this answer of yours, to the point where we can raise many questions on it. However, I will concentrate on the true nature of the expression "the Islamic awakening" and the nature of its relationship to the heritage and roots, that is, the nature of the notion of the return itself. There are Islamic groups which are today calling for the application of an Islamic model which was current 14 centuries ago. This entails the negation of the mobility of Islam as a religion of life, development and progress in the first place, as a religion whose basic function is to impel people toward the future. What is your comment?

[Answer] I agree with you over the approach to the road you have been so kind as to present as far as this subject goes. When we advocate a return to Islam, this phrase semantically might suggest something reactionary or more than reactionary. What can one do, though, if no other expression exists? If this sort of other expression assumes concrete form, there is nothing wrong with using it in our language of terms. However, let us assume that we are right in our use of this expression, and that it means a return to the true principles of Islam; what true principles are these, then? Let us return to what? Let us return to Islam in what era? The Abbasid era? The Omayyad era? The upright caliphs? A return can only be connected to the possibility of criticizing human movement. When we advocate a return to the Abbasid era and some of us say that we were victorious, conquerors and progressive in science, philosophy and so forth in the course of it, we must nonetheless realize that this era brought to the fore a different human situation which tried to progress through the Koran and Islamic thinking, put itself in a specific framework and form an empire. That is on the one hand. On the other hand, do we want to revive the values of life of the Abbasid era? Do we want for instance to build palaces and bring in harems and slaves, exploit people and control slaves? That has absolutely no relationship to Islam, although it existed as a tradition in some practices of Moslems who lived during those periods.

Shall we go back, for example, to the era of the Omayyads, and consecrate kingship, which is contrary to the spirit of Islam? Shall we go back to the time of great strife and the fragmentation of the Moslems into sects and parties (which the Koran itself warns against)?

Therefore, when we talk about a return, we must specify exactly what we mean by a return here. What is our legal and logical evidence for it? Here I envision a real return to Islam only through the guidance of the holy Koran, because the revelation of the Koran to the prophet, on whom be peace, was not by chance. Of course, here we differ with those who believe that Muhammad was a hero or that he was the one who wrote the Koran. We believe that almighty glorious God revealed the Koran to Muhammad (on whom be God's prayers and peace) as the seal of the prophets and messengers, and consequently the Koran is the seal of God's revelation to man.

In brief, our appeal is for the Koran to be a standard of our comprehensive view of life and existence. If we study it and truly arrange it, we will find that it contains exhortation to the mind, thinking and profound insight. The absolute stipulations in the Koran are specific and clear, but the directives are more numerous. The directives guide man to use his intelligence in dealing with his social, economic, scientific and technical affairs: "Community of man and of genies, if you can pass through to the confines of heaven and earth, do so; you shall pass through only by authority." This is the appeal for knowledge in its remotest areas.

In the eras of Islamic backwardness in the past, Moslems considered people who printed books to be apostates. In some backward societies today they consider people who ride cars to be apostates. More than that, there are people today in some Arab-Islamic societies who rule that the earth is not a planet. What does this mean, except the debasement of Islam? It means that these ignorant people have not gone back to the Koran and that their knowledge of the Arabic language is deficient. No one who frightens people about technology and scientific progress has a connection to Islam, and his thinking is "church thinking" in the European sense. There is no "church" in the Koran. There is no talk in all the Koran about an imam or inviolate person.

In the Koran the people of Israel are criticized on grounds that the senior figures were the ones who led them astray and consequently it warns the Moslems against having senior figures who lead them astray.

[Question] Am I to understand from your discussion that the holy Koran is the permanent constitution in whose light we can renew the relationship with Islam?

[Answer] Exactly. The prophet's biography, which the Koran discusses, differs from the mythical biographies that some people talk about. They talk for example about some human miracles which we know came about as a result of the writings of the Israelites. In his biography in the Koran, the prophet was a model for the working, toiling, struggling man who uses his intelligence and urges his companions to use intelligence.

The Koran urges Moslems to consultation, justice and equality. It urges Moslems to contemplate themselves and the horizons. It esteems knowledge and science and exhorts people to them. The existence of the idea of belief in a single powerful god is in itself the greatest scientific law for the takeoff of the human intelligence.

[Question] But we can differ over interpretations. These interpretations can lead us to matters whose consequences are unenviable. Therefore, what does the proper interpretation of the Koranic principles stipulate for us?

[Answer] True knowledge. The first obvious matter with which we must arm ourselves is the knowledge of the Arabic language. It is necessary properly to know the tools of this language. The Koran is clear. An illiterate person read it to a large number of illiterate persons, and they understood it, lived within it and created a revolution in the world in accordance with it. The Koran started to be treated like books of myths when schools of interpretation started to appear (these sometimes set out from rhetorical or other philosophical schools), and differing interpretations appeared along with them -- the schools of the Mu'tazilites and the al-Ash'aris of various types, the Shiite schools, the schools of Sunnite jurisprudence, and so forth. Such interpretations exist in the minds of their interpreters before the Koranic verse is reviewed (we are talking here about interpretation of expressions), then after that the verse is interpreted in accordance with one view or another. Such a point of departure is of course wrong, since you must approach the Koran with an open mind and open heart and understand the things in it in their own essence.

[Question] What about the differences which arose and their conclusions?

[Answer] These are attempts on the part of Islamic political parties to bend verses in which they triumph over their competitors (or enemies), in the sense of debating with them and establishing specific positions on eliminating them.

The verses concerning stipulations are clear, as we have pointed out, as are the verses of guidance. For example, the verse which says "And order them to consultation among themselves:" many people have tried to interpret this in various forms. Some people have said the order is consultation, that is, among the prominent people of the nation. Others have said it is among decisionmakers. Others have said it is among the relatives of the prince and the caliph only, and there are other such interpretations, which do not proceed from the Koran but from the exploitative political positions at hand.

Semantically, the Koran is clear. The prophet would read to the Moslems the verse which said that these are the characteristics of the devout, and that one of their characteristics is that he has ordered them to consult among themselves. Why should we flee into interpretations and exegesis? Why shouldn't we use our intelligence? We can, through the proper semantic knowledge of Arabic, then arrive at "and order them to consultation among themselves," that is, among the various Islamic groups, among all the people, and ultimately eliminate any tutelage over Moslems, whether it be religious or worldly. To seek refuge with overseers brings us to polytheism, or is polytheism in itself. In some countries in which Islam has become widespread, Islamic culture is limited. We find some "imams of the religion" exempting some Moslems from fasting for days of the month of Ramadan in exchange for specific alms. How did that come about? From where? Do these formulas exist in the religion? Absolutely not. How, then, did this sort of apostasy, and others, become widespread? They became widespread because there is religious tutelage which has become acknowledged through deviousness, politics or other distorted methods. Decrees from these overseers that are in violation of the holy Koran and Islamic law have come to be accepted in the name of religion.

[20 Jan 86 pp 40-42]

[Text] We are following up on the remaining part of our lengthy conversation with Dr Muhammad Ahmad al-Sharif, secretary of the Islamic Call Society in the Jamahiriyah.

Some reader friends have blamed us for breaking the conversation down into two parts. As far as we are concerned, although we were concerned that each part be independent within the overall unity of the conversation, we resorted to doing so because of the concentration of cultural articles which could not stand to be postponed.

[Question] There are ideological positions which view Islam as a cultural force and presence constituting a coherent identity in the garb of the West. This identity might be an alternative to Arab national identity. What is your opinion on this subject?

[Answer] This question is very important, especially during this critical stage of our history. What has made this sort of question constitute a problem as far as many Moslems go is, once again, the lack of deep contemplation of the verses of the holy Koran. Let us read this verse, for example: "People, we have created you as males and females and have made you peoples and tribes so that you may get to know one another. The noblest of you to God is the most pious of you." The Koran talks about peoples and tribes and considers that what is desired is mutual acquaintance among these peoples. The criterion of closeness to God ultimately is piety. When this sort of clear, easy, ordinary verse is read, people understand it and consider for example that the Arabs are a people, the Turks are a people and the Persians are a people. God created them in this way and made them peoples, populations and tribes so that contact might take place among them. Ignoring the bond of the womb or social links therefore amounts to ignoring natural truths which as a consequence lead us to great intellectual problems.

What we would like to say is that the early Moslems in the days of the prophet, and even the days of the companions after the prophet's death, did not ask themselves such questions. The Arabs are the Arabs who perform their duty for the sake of Islam; if the Arabs become great, Islam becomes great, and if the Arabs become debased, the Moslems become debased. The strange thing is that when we read the verses on provisions, regarding inheritance for example, we find that the first society of Medina applied social relationships, or let us say national relationships, in accordance with them, after use had temporarily been made of a tentative brotherhood between the people who had fled and the partisans.

We must adopt this standard. The people of your nation are those closest to you, and Islam gives them a true impetus and proper view regarding relations of life and human directives for exercising freedom in its true character and dispensations. Through the picture of this solidarity, the philosopher and master of the scholars of society in history, Ibn Khaldun, talks for example about tribal bonding and religion, or nationalism and religion, as the research of modern scientific interpretations would have it.

Therefore this is the proper picture of the life of the first Arabs in their eras of prosperity, their invincibility and their relations with Islam. The decline into the Western model which took place later (especially in later periods) was matched on the other hand by adherence to another internationalism which sometimes had a Western tinge, whose position constituted a reaction to certain non-religious or secular tendencies and thereby gave birth to other tendencies which stated that Islam had to be in a nationalist confrontation if its progress was desired. I personally recently heard about some unfortunate conclusions of an Islamic conference which was held in London recently, where one of the participants presented a paper stating that the most dangerous thing for Islam was nationalism and the most dangerous nationalism for Islam was Arab nationalism. That as you can see is very strange thinking, and is contrary to the principles of the Koran and the course of Arab society. It is also contrary to the course of Islamic societies. What is to be taken for granted is that throughout history, whenever Islam and the Arabs joined together, that brought about progress for Islam itself and an Arabhood which negated any supremacist or fascist ideologies. (The call for Arab nationalism here absolutely does not resemble previous appeals to nationalism such as fascism in Italy, for example. The situation here is basically different in terms of premises and orientation.) The more the two divagated, the greater was the scope for regression, defeat, dispersion and deterioration for the Arabs.

[Question] Doctor, let us state a very important point related to the dialectical relationship between Islam and Arabhood. In other words, if nationalism is an ideology and Islam is an ideology, relations exist between them based on the premise of a difference between them. How can we reconcile the two forms in the face of unified, connected thought?

[Answer] Putting Islam and Arabhood in a mutually-contradictory form, seeking a dialectical relationship between the two, and ending up by reconciling them or creating a new synthesis between the thesis and its antithesis is also something which has been dictated to our minds, because the meaning of nationalism, as it has been understood by many writers here, is similar to the modified Western interpretation. When we say the Arabs as a nation, when we say that God revealed the Koran in a clear Arabic tongue, this is the Arab prophet, and the Arabs are thus and so, that absolutely does not mean that the Arab nation has an ideological content which differs from Islam. When we say Islam, the Islamic religion, the view of Islam and the Koran on such and such, we are not talking about any ideology which violates the people to whom the Koran was revealed and who were asked to preserve its mission.

[Question] In this sense could we make a formula for all other nationalisms which have "lawful" relations with the Islamic religion as the Islamic religion which resembles the "lawful nature" of Arabhood's relationship to Islam?

[Answer] No. Let us take an example without getting into sensitive feelings. If nationality X, for the sake of argument, returned to its experiences before Islam or before the Arab-Islamic conquest, and wanted to create harmony between its situation and the Islamic religion, or tried for example to reject Islam or reject nationalism in accordance with that, we would no doubt fall prey to many problems and frustrations. When Islam spread out over broad non-Arab areas, the Arabs who spread it, for example, absorbed the particular characteristics of nationalities of various types and created interpretations in keeping with the movement of these societies within Islam. Even different Islamic creeds arose. Although we did not consider it necessary to establish entire creeds whose members would be spread out over broad geographic areas, what concerns me in reality here is to concentrate on the point that Arab nationalism has a particular characteristic in its relationship with Islam and Islam, in its turn, has a particular characteristic in its relationship with the Arab homeland and the Arab nation. The Arabs are the ones who explained the meanings of Islam to these nationalities, because the Arab nation, over the centuries, has generously received and generously receives people who "enter into" Arab nationalism through affiliation.

[Question] However, our analysis of this sort of thing, as Arabs, differs from the analyses of others who are not Arabs. We might find this interpretation suitable for us, since Islam constitutes a profound part of our personality and the heritage of our civilization, while others look at Islam as a unifying, comprehensive notion and consider that it is above all nationalities and ideologies and that it must be made to prevail as a principle over the other national principles and matters which are taken for granted.

[Answer] I understand what you mean. For example, an Islamic country is devoted to Islam because it considers that its national structure is in contradiction with Islam and consequently it is prepared from the standpoint of its devotion to this religion to break down the nationalist aspect within itself, on condition that Islam be embraced as an internationalism which brings the other Moslems together, including the Arabs.

This might be a nice thing to people who pursue unrealistic internationalist thinking. Reality is one thing and Islam is something else. We as Arabs will be greatly gladdened by Islamic thinking which dominates the other nationalities, but if the national aspect in the social relationship among Islamic peoples is weak, there will be reactions which as they have throughout history will lead to further fragmentation and the establishment of Islamic statelets which are independent of one another. Unfortunately, wars in the Islamic world have been more vicious and fierce than those between the Moslems and the Westerners. Therefore, we must warn those people that there are social facts which must be taken into consideration before we realize tragic results which will benefit the enemies of Islam and the Moslems.

[Question] Let us talk about the hottest area in our Arab-Islamic East, Lebanon. There is a real confrontation with the enemy the impulse behind which is Islam, there is no doubt about that, and it has proved its validity in resisting the enemy, but the enemy has come back and rallied around the same religious impulse and has turned it around as a weapon against us after it had been a weapon against him, since his agents suddenly began to spread narrow factional and religious strife even in the heart of the united religion, in order that the Moslems would strike out at one another and be diverted from things that might bring them together. What is your comment?

[Answer] Once again, I can say that if we go back to the holy Koran and the teachings of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace), we will not have the problem of creeds. The prophet was not a Malikite, Shafi'ite, Hanbalite or Shiite. Moreover, there was no Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ali or 'Uthman. The creeds, my friend, came after stages of political development whose result was individual theories among Moslems. The prophet did not leave an inheritance to anyone after he moved on to the comrade on high. Even in the shelter of Bani Sa'idah, when they talked about the assumption of command, the Moslems did not mention that the Koran recommended such and such and that the prophet recommended such and such. They stated for example that we had a commander, and you had a commander. So-and-so was worthier, another person was stronger, and so on. They talked about ordinary national human standards, the goal of which was to ease the affairs of Islamic society after the death of the prophet.

The Koran, which talks even about cutting off a thief's hand and even about punishing people who speak slanderously, and the prophet, who talked to the Moslems about many Islamic affairs, did not impose direct recommendations on the subject of politics. Why not? Because he realized that God wanted man to choose by his own intelligence what was most suitable and proper for himself and the group. The inclination to realize truth, justice and the liberation of man are all things of which the mind approves and will be natural, then, if overseers are absent, exploitation is absent along with them, political trafficking with people is absent and the logic of the mind prevails.

Of course, I do not want to adhere tenaciously to an easy subject here and say that colonialism is against us and certain entities are ceaselessly conspiring against us. It is clear that Islamic weapons have proved their merit, and have created a profound problem for the Jewish enemy, who has tried to seek numerous ways of confronting the new state of affairs. It happened that the objective aimed at in the confrontation this time was to have it take place from within Islam, within the structure of Islamic society. How so? By well known methods that had been tested in the past, through subordinate overseers who serve a given hostile policy, or by sowing dissension and strife, where someone differs over something that is common to people, then they try to put their disputes in general application among the group and so that loyalty, instead of being to God, then is given to some person or another, then matters gradually develop until the Arabs and the Moslems split apart. Their split here is not confined to political affairs but goes beyond them to juridical affairs which even afflict a single religious creed.

Thus, we read in Islamic history about so and so the al-Ash'ari, Shafi'ite, Malikite, Naqshabandi Sufi and so on. This sort of nomenclature was most widespread in periods of decline, especially at the beginning of the Omayyad era, when it was part of an individual's identity card, on the basis of which a political position or something similar would be taken in his regard. More than that, if someone was a Shafi'ite, he would not be permitted to pray with others who were Malikites, for instance, and if he was a Sufi and follower of so-and-so's group he would not be allowed to teach unless he moved over to the other Sufic creed.

These sorts of things were widespread in the times of decline, that is, times when affiliation was not to Islam directly but to factions, creeds and finally overseers.

We for example in North Africa have been familiar with Sufic creeds and orders whose followers said that it was necessary that people have a sheikh, and that the condition of anyone who deviated from this rule was wretched and miserable. Even on this level, people were divided in their loyalty. They did not just follow Sufic creeds and orders, but would tie themselves to individuals who were Sufis themselves and follow their orders.

Islam Is Man's Conduct with His Own Condition and Others

[Question] What do you recommend to eliminate these contradictions?

[Answer] Pursuing the provisions of the Koran and Islam, without creeds. Religion lies with God and Islam. Those to whom the book was revealed split apart only because they had become sects and parties.

[Question] Could one advocate a non-religious Islam?

[Answer] Non-religious Islam? What does that phrase mean?

[Question] It means advocating Islam as an identity based on civilization, an Islam without rituals.

[Answer] The Koran is a complete mission, that is, from the first verse to "Today I have completed your religion for you, have perfected my bounty for you and have been satisfied with Islam as a religion for you." There is an obvious integration you cannot circumvent. You cannot, for example, take part of the Koran and act in accordance with it. The state of the Moslems in that situation would become similar to that of the Jews in the time of the prophet in Medina, believing in some of the book and renouncing another part of it; consequently they did not progress and their destiny was to collapse.

In brief, we believe that Islam, if it is accepted, must be accepted in its entirety. You cannot take half an idea and leave the other half, especially if they are interconnected.

When we talk about the uniqueness of God, for example, that is something to be taken for granted and you must live on the basis of it. How do you live on the basis of it? You live on the basis of it through prayer, fasting, building a family and social and political work. When you know that God is one, you will not fear anyone, and consequently no one will represent you in parliament or elsewhere, because you yourself will be God's successor on earth. The Koran talks about God's successor on earth and not about some person as God's successor on earth. Islam is in man's action with his creator and with others, and attention to the "Islamic awakening" and the feeling that it will end rapidly, and the spreading of tidings about that are all erroneous things. I have read much on this subject. They say, for example, that Islam is a "fad" and will be over with soon. This is something we can actually call wishful thinking, your desire to say such and such a thing. However, if we want Islam to have an opportunity among us again to make us progress as a nation, we must take it in its entirety, just as was stated in the Koran, in accordance with our use of our mind and our knowledge of the life of the prophet and how he applied it. However, no one binds us to the interpretations of the second Abbasid era or the Fatimid era. To the contrary, we seek the guidance of the Koran to criticize improper practices, especially those rulings among them which have appeared and appear in the name of Islam, though they belong to Islam in no way.

No Moslem Has Tutelage over a Christian

[Question] Doctor, frankly, the statement that the essence of Arabhood is Islam has put and is putting a large segment of our Arab people who belong to the Christian religion in a state of permanent fear over fate. We do not need to open the file on the historic causes, the exploitation of Christians by Western colonialism in the orient, and so forth. We are now faced with a crucial problem to which we are seeking a final solution. How do you view the problem of the religious minorities in the single Arab society or if you wish within the general framework of Islamic civilization?

[Answer] In reality, my friend, there are no problems; rather, it is the Westerners who have imposed these problems on us. The Koran defines this relationship and it is very clear. We must not view the matter in the light of the practices of many Arab and Moslem rulers, the practices of Islamic or Arab societies and the practices of colonialists who came to us and ruined us. We derive this relationship from the Koran itself. In the Koran there is great praise for Christians and the people of the book in general. Anyone who reads the Koran will notice this high praise and will be dazzled by it: "You will find the people who are most hostile to the devout to be the Jews and apostates and you will find the people who are closest to them in affection are those who said, 'We are Christians.'" This is the proper relationship which the prophet strove toward, as well as the first companions and after them the community of scholarship of the Koran, some Islamic groups and ordinary Moslem individuals. This is the natural relationship which God commanded and which must exist.

In other words, no Moslem has tutelage over a Christian. Tutelage is not acceptable in the Islamic context. What happened in the Sudan, for example, under the title of Islamic law (in the days of al-Numayri's regime) with the application of the Islamic penalty for alcohol to a Christian is not a proper act. For God's sake, we have not heard that Islamic penalties were applied perforce to people who were not Moslem. The condition of the application of the Islamic penalty is that people should be Moslem first of all. What has happened is a process of alienation. I am one of those who believe that what has been called "Islamic law" in the Sudan follows the schools we talked about, the Western schools which alienate Arabs and Moslems from Islam.

[Question] This is a very good, intelligent position. It is a distinctive, aware position and one which I have rarely heard from Islamic thinkers. It arises from the very essence of the true understanding of the Koran and the principle of Islam. But, Dr Muhammad, Christianity has always been viewed as if it was a hostile offspring of the West, although it is an offspring of the East which was born and flourished in our Arab region.

[Answer] Yes, yes, I believe that if the Arabs can return to the Koran in the sense we talked about, their situation will be different. If the masses of Arab Moslems are fated to rise up in the light of what we are referring to, the Christian Arab masses will also rise up with them in the same way. Christians must be respected, as they are part of the Arab nation, living, with their Moslem brothers, under a single Arab civilization. We believe that people who do not understand Islam are people who humiliate Christian Arabs. The Arabs who do not understand Christianity are ones who humiliate their Christian Arab brothers. The people who created and still are creating this rift are in my opinion those overseers, whether they are Arab overseers over the religion of Islam or Arab overseers over the religion of Christianity.

I of course am not claiming that I have an easy equation which will solve problems which have lasted for many years and have been exacerbated by touchy feelings which have been aggravated within the unified Arab society, but I do say that in our new beginning we must be aware of these things and be wary of them, that is, we must go back to the Koran in defining them and not adopt the individual theories of a given sheikh or a given priest, the leader of one given faction or the head of a certain tribe, and so forth. One should bear in mind that some Moslem leaders appeared in our history who treated Arab Christians well. Sultan Salah-al-Din, for example, was famous for his respect for Christian Arabs and translated that into practice in the course of his confrontation with the Crusader invasion. Some of them were in his army and his administration. The reason for this aware position on his part is that he was devoted to the Koran and Islamic principles. If we review history we will be struck by the facts on how many Moslems mistreated Arab Christians, and how many Eastern and Western Christians also mistreated Arab Moslems. We can set a strong Arab society or nation right in no way by hiding faults, but rather by describing them.

Everything is clear in Islam. Our Christian brothers have great freedom in interpreting worldly affairs following their adherence to the Christian faith. They can enter into many political formulas.

Moslems must realize that Jesus the son of Mary was a Moslem: "The apostles said, we are the partisans of God, believe in God and bear witness that we are Moslems." Moses was a Moslem, Noah was a Moslem, Abraham was the one who called you Moslems. The title does not just include the followers of Muhammad, even, but rather includes the other people of the book along with them.

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BROWN BOVERI COMPANY'S INVESTMENTS DETAILED

Tunis REALITES in French 10 Jan 86 p 30

[Text] Investments in Tunisia do not involve the Arab countries of the Middle East alone, but also West European countries such as Switzerland.

The Swiss BBC (Brown Boveri Company) company has made assiduous overtures to the Tunisian market. One of its managers stated to TUNIS-AFRIQUE-PRESSE that it was as a result of a meeting of the European Management Forum in Geneva, at which Mohamed Mzali and Rachid Sfar were present, that the BBC company decided on "a Swiss financial investment which can be counted in the tens of millions of dinars" in Tunisia.

The BBC company was established in 1891. It employs 95,000 people in 110 countries around the world and its annual turnover totals 3,000 billion millimes.

Since Mohamed Mzali and Rachid Sfar met with one of the top managers of this company, investment possibilities have been worked out.

The commitments made by the BBC naturally involved one of their traditional activities, electricity, and the company showed a great deal of interest in the STEG [Tunisian Electric and Gas Company] and the Rades II power station. However, in accordance with the commitments it made to the prime minister and the minister of the economy, the BBC is beginning in Tunisia with an investment in the capital of a large Tunisian company, presently under subscription. Its investment of 1 million dinars in the capital of an industrial plant in Zaghouan will contribute to the establishment of this large energy saving project.

In its issue of 3 December 1985, our colleague LE FIGARO announced the reorganization of the BBC corporation in its entirety. It is the third Swiss industrial corporation to expect a slight decline for 1985 in the growth of the corporation's turnover by comparison with 1984. Nevertheless, they achieved a total of 770 billion, i.e., an increase compared with 1984. The BBC's investment in the Tunisian Zaghouan industrial project thus represents 0.03 percent of the figure mentioned above: everything must start somewhere! And (if one may put it this way) the (electric) current therefore runs from Z to Z (from Zurich to Zaghouan).

The BBC's undertakings vis-a-vis the Tunisian authorities will not melt like (Swiss) chocolate in the Tunisian sun!

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TUNISIA

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA REPORTED

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 13 Jan 86 pp 18, 19

[Article: "Tunisian-Algerian Cooperation is Continuing in All Areas at a Steady Pace"]

[Excerpts] Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and minister of the interior, presided over the ceremony organized for the graduation of the third class of the Finance Institute for the Development of the Arab Maghreb (IFID).

On this occasion, Mohamed Mzali stressed the importance of this institution and its effective contribution to the realization of the common aspirations of the Tunisian and Algerian people for the establishment of Maghrebian unity together with economic cooperation.

Mzali declared that he was delighted to be receiving topnotch young Tunisians and Algerians who had received their training at the Finance Institute for the Development of Grand Maghreb in the banking and insurance fields.

He noted that in addition to this establishment, located in Tunis, an institute for training personnel in the customs and taxation field had been open in Algiers for 3 years.

He expressed his satisfaction with the success of the Finance Institute for the Development of Grand Maghreb in the accomplishment of its task, and stated that Tunisian-Algerian cooperation was continuing in all areas at a steady pace. Moreover, he emphasized that contacts between Tunisian and Algerian students created links of fraternity and solidarity suitable for unifying the aspirations of Maghrebian youth, and in giving it greater opportunity for building up the Arab Grand Maghreb. He observed that the task of the present generations consisted in preparing solid ground for the realization of this common objective.

Mohamed Mzali affirmed that the presence at the ceremony of Messaoud Ait Chaalal, Algeria's ambassador to Tunis, constituted another aspect of this cooperation and was a support to this trend.

Mzali stressed that the existence side by side of Tunisian and Algerian senior technicians in banking and insurance institutions would promote cooperation, facilitate contacts and the struggle against bureaucratic red tape, and help in the realization of the cooperation for which we aspire.

Thre prime minister then handed the institute's diploma to the top graduate of the class.

Taking part in the ceremony were members of the institute's board of directors and its professors led by Mongi Ben Othman, director of the institute, and the Algerian ambassador in Tunis.

Consolidate the Financial Apparatus

Moreover, a ceremony was held on Wednesday afternoon in honor of the third graduating class of the Finance Institute for the Development of the Arab Maghreb, presided over by Salah Ben M'barka, the minister of finance, and in the presence of Messaoud Ait Chaalal, the Algerian ambassador in Tunis, Habib Jaafari, president of the board of directors, Mongi Ben Othman, general director of the institute, and some officials from banking institutes and insurance companies in Algeria and Tunisia.

It should be pointed out that the IFID, which was created on 3 September 1981 as a result of a Tunisian-Algerian convention, has the objectives of providing long-term training for future Maghrebian managerial staff in banking and insurance, and carrying out research work--activities dealing with development finance, providing short courses for ongoing advanced training and for training teachers, organizing and promoting exchanges, as well as scientific and technical meetings.

The first and second graduating classes included 32 graduates, and the third class had 43 graduates, including 19 Tunisians and 24 Algerians.

The next class, which will start in January 1986, will also include Mauritanian students.

[Boxed Section]

Short Summary of the IFID

What is the IFID?

The Finance Institute for the Development of the Arab Maghreb (IFID) is an international common law institution. It was created by the Tunisian-Algerian convention of 3 September 1981. It is administered by a joint board of directors made up of eight Tunisian and Algerian administrators including the representatives of the two countries' Ministries of Finance and Central Banks. The IFID's operating budget is provided by contributions from sponsoring businesses.

The Objectives of the IFID.

The IFID has the following objectives:

--To provide long-term training for future Maghrebian managerial staff in the banking and insurance sector.

--To provide short courses for ongoing advanced training, and the training of teachers.

--To organize and promote exchanges, and scientific and technical meetings.

The IFID's Program

The IFID's long-term program is to train senior staff full time during a 2-year period. To achieve this goal, the institute emphasizes the following policies:
--Rigorous selection
--A limited number of students
--A high staffing ratio

In the specialized program, there are 740 hours of course work; 71 subjects to study; two thirds in specialized courses and one third in standard courses; 129 research studies were carried out. In 1985, there were 4 refresher courses, and round table meetings attended by senior officials.

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TUNISIA

REPORT ON TEXTILE INDUSTRY GIVEN

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 13 Jan 86 p 40

[Article: "Encouraging Results"]

[Text] The spectacular growth recorded by the textile industry was consolidated during the past year as a result of the many incentives granted to a sector which creates jobs and earns foreign currency.

In its second decade of development, the Tunisian textile industry, which experienced a surge in growth after independence, has decided to concentrate on exports. This rose from 2.7 million dinars in 1972 to 37 million in 1976, then 240 million dinars in 1984. Employment benefited greatly since this sector occupies first place among manufacturing industries in creating jobs. The spectacular growth of the Tunisian textile industry is the result of the encouragement given by the authorities to this sector which creates jobs and especially brings in foreign currency.

During 1985, the export of textile products showed marked growth after recording a slight drop the preceding year as a result of a decline in foreign demand, particularly from the European Economic Community countries.

In terms of revenue, the export of textile products increased during 1985 by 10.6 percent at constant prices, reaching 315 million dinars with footwear exports.

The creation of export companies and the easing of administrative procedures in particular were behind this improvement. Moreover, results for the first 9 months of 1985 confirmed the favorable development in textile exports, which rose from 185 million dinars for the same period in 1984 to approximately 222 million dinars, i.e., an increase of about 20 percent. In this way, the sector in question will be in a position to realize a value added growth of 6.6 percent for 1985, instead of the 6.1 percent called for in the 1985 economic budget.

In production, the sector's results for 1985 were positive because of the performance in exports. If one refers to SOGITEX [General Textile Industries Company] statistics, it can be observed that the results of its subsidiaries (SITER [Associated Textile Industries Company], SITEX [Textile Manufacturing Company], TISS-MOK [Moknine Weaving Company], SOMOTEX [Monastir Textile

Company]) showed positive growth overall. Thus spinning production increased about 23 percent between the totals recorded for the first 9 months of 1984 and 1985. Weaving, in turn, showed growth of approximately 12 percent over the same period of time. The finishing branch registered a slight drop of 0.5 percent which will bring the results for 1985 below those for 1984.

For 1986, the forecasts of the economic budget are based on a growth rate in the textile industry sector lower than that expected for 1985, i.e, +4.7 percent compared with +6.6 percent.

This expectation of growth (+4.7 percent) nevertheless rests on the consolidation of the recovery in exports recorded in 1985.

The production of clothing is estimated at 70.7 million items, taking into account export goals of 51.2 million items. The production of headgear is estimated at 9,700 tons, a total that was recorded on the basis of a 5 percent increase in the volume of exports.

It should be noted, moreover, that the investment total planned for this sector comes to 30 million dinars of which two thirds will be allocated to spinning, weaving, and finishing; these investments will go to the SOGITEX corporation's plants.

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AID TO BUSINESSMEN REPORTED

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 20 Jan 86 p 17

[Article: "Measures to Aid Businessmen Who Suffered Losses Because of Libya's Failure to Respect its Commitments"]

[Text] The Ministries of Finance and the National Economy stated that: "In accordance with the decision of the Interministerial Committee which met on Thursday 9 April 1986 to discuss measures to assist businessmen who suffered material loss as a result of the failure by the Libyans to respect their commercial commitments, on Saturday 11 January 1985 the minister of finance chaired a meeting of the representatives of UTICA [Tunisian Union for Industry, Trade, and Handicrafts] and the various departments and organizations involved to examine ways of implementing the said decision. In this context, the Ministries of Finance and the National Economy make the following statement:

1. Goods Delivered and Unpaid For

It was decided to make interest free loans from the National Guarantee Fund to businessmen who have delivered goods to Libya for which payment has not been received.

In this regard, the businessmen concerned are requested to make application at their banks or at the Central Bank of Tunisia (credit manager).

2. Orders Without Subsequent Shipment of the Merchandise

For orders filled at the request of the Libyan market, but which could not be delivered, it was decided to:

a) Extend the prefinancing loan period for the affected stock at the current preferential rate, i.e., 6 percent.

b) Extend the duty-free entry period until:

--either the reexport of the goods to a new destination,

--or their sale on the local market. In this case, a 3-month period is granted by the customs office--Customs Administration--to businessmen for the payment of the duties and taxes normally required.

Businessmen may contact the trade office attache--Foreign Trade Administration (6 Rue de Syrie in Tunis)--in order to sell the merchandise on the local market, which must receive prior authorization.

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TUNISIA

BOURAOUI DISCUSSES UNTT-UGTT COORDINATION, GOVERNMENT-UNION RELATIONS

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 27 Jan 86 pp 13-14

[Interview with Abdelaziz Bouraoui, secretary general of UNTT [National Tunisian Workers Union], by Youssef Hechmi; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] On Monday, speaking on behalf of the chief of state, the prime minister appealed to trade unionists to join ranks and work for a united trade union confederation within the framework of a just national line. That confederation would emerge from a congress crowned by the adoption of a national charter of sound trade union action based on democracy and the defense of workers' rights and Tunisia's rights to sovereignty, invulnerability and perpetuity. How did the UNTT respond to that appeal?

[Answer] Regarding that appeal from the president of the republic through Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and minister of interior, we in the UNTT believe that it is truly a moral commitment to principles. How and under what conditions would such a union come about? That is another matter. It is too early to make any prediction. In the UNTT Executive Bureau, we have agreed to debate the question with all those interested in trade union unity. However, we are bound to our rank and file, whose approval or final decision we must have.

[Question] Do you believe that the conditions exist to give concrete content to the appeal?

[Answer] The prime minister emphasized the fact that in order for that unity to be lasting, it would have to be based on reform and on a trade union charter inspired by the fundamental trade union principles that we call the principles of Farhat Hached. Such a union should therefore be based on that charter and those principles, which should be observed and applied by all partners involved. To date, no one has contacted us to discuss the possibility.

[Question] But in your opinion, who should have the initiative: the National Coordinating Bureau, the UNTT or the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor]?

[Answer] The party making the appeal to all interested partners should find the solution and the proper means to restore contact. There are only two parties involved: the UGTT and the UNTT. In the UGTT, there is a conflict between trade union members, but it is still the UGTT. Comrades on the provisional committees are only trade union members within the UGTT who have a dispute with other UGTT leaders. Consequently, there is only one partner for us, which is the UGTT. But for the time being, the UGTT has asked nothing of us and we have asked nothing of the UGTT. The government asked old trade unionists to the 20 January meeting and asked them to work toward a rapprochement between the different parties.

[Question] Through the prime minister, the government said that it will remain in a neutral position and allow the trade unionists to act. Is that position different from the one adopted in 1980 and 1981, when the government helped establish the conditions for the organization of the special Gafsa congress by freeing trade unionists being held?

[Answer] The current trade union situation is totally different from the one in 1980. In 1980, the government did not interfere in the organization of the Gafsa congress or its success. The government contributed indirectly to its success by freeing trade unionists being held at the time. The government has adopted that same position now also, as I have already said. The appeal by Mohamed Mzali is a moral commitment for us, but in our opinion, it is not in any way an obligation. The government's position in 1981 was praiseworthy and its appeal for the trade union today is equally so. It is a position we duly appreciate.

[Question] The UNTT Executive Bureau met with the prime minister. What subjects were discussed at that meeting?

[Answer] A number of matters that we brought up repeatedly in 1984 and 1985. In particular, there was the question of improving the worker's lot, meaning higher wages. The government made radical and justified decisions, in our opinion. Regarding the country's economic situation, we put that demand on the back burner and agreed to discuss an increase in wages in terms of increased production and productivity, which respond to one of the principles we set forth in our constitutive manifesto, for we also put forth the need to protect the purchasing power of the citizen by linking wages and prices. Based on the country's economic situation, we decided to ask for only an indexing of wages on production and productivity and postponed wage and price indexing until we have a better national economic situation. At the present time, we agreed to bargain in the enterprises over an increase in wages through improved production and productivity, which negotiations were begun in certain enterprises in 1985. We also asked the prime minister to extend such negotiations to all sectors, including the civil service. We therefore asked the government to increase the SMIG [guaranteed minimum wage] and the SMAG [guaranteed minimum agricultural wage], as well as for a revision of the rate of family allowances and an increase in the single wage, which have been set since 1976 and 1957 respectively. At that meeting, we also asked for an application of agreements made with enterprises to wage hikes in terms of production and productivity.

That very day, the prime minister announced at his meeting with trade unionists that the government has agreed to revise rates of family allowances and to extend agreements and negotiations on indexing wages on production and productivity. Consequently, most of our demands made in 1984 and 1985 are being fulfilled thanks to the understanding of the prime minister and the government.

[Question] In the light of all these facts, how do you view the future of trade union action in our country, Mr Secretary General?

[Answer] Trade unionists are optimistic by nature, for they have confidence in their movement and believe in its principles and the effective role it plays for the good of the worker and the country. In general, the trade unionist is a constructive, fighting individual who does not give in to difficulty easily. Having said that much, we see that trade union action is now relatively stagnant today, which is definitely prejudicial to the interest of the workers. Naturally, the fundamental factor resides in the effects of the international economic situation, but there are also national factors, including the incidents occurring between the trade union movement of the UGTT and the government. This situation has engendered harm for trade union activity itself because certain trade union leaders believe that the trade union principle is always to continue making demands, whatever the situation in the country. And yet, a person working for true national trade unionism must always bear the national situation in mind. Thus, the difficulties that built up following the positions of certain UGTT trade unionists have led trade union action to an unfortunate impasse that helps no one.

[Question] The UNTT is anxious to make workers aware of the need to be conscious of the nation's general interest and the economic situation. Can one evaluate UNTT action in that sense? Are there blockages preventing such action from getting anywhere?

[Answer] Of course there is blockage, but the latest meeting of the prime minister with unionists and the new measures taken to improve the situation of workers represent a definite positive step for us. Some of our demands will be met, but the general trade union situation is not satisfactory. It is a tense situation that cannot foster the enthusiasm necessary for socioeconomic activity. Now, with what we have done and if the talks extend to a wage increase in both the public and private sectors, then I believe that the enthusiasm can be restored and the trade union situation relieved.

[Question] A Ministry of Labor was recently set up. How are your relations with that new department?

[Answer] We have had contact with the minister of labor, who expressed his understanding of the matters brought up, including a certain number of questions pending for years, for example, that of the so-called "conciliation boards," revision of the Labor Code, representation of the UNTT on boards of directors of certain companies, and so on. The minister of labor promised to study all these matters so that they might be applied as soon as possible.

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TUNISIA

MZALI DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 27 Jan 86 pp 15-16

[Interview with Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali, by Bernard Cohen; date and place not given]

[Text] In an interview granted to LIBERATION's Bernard Cohen, Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and minister of interior, dealt with the problem of the university, the Personal Status Code and the government's fight against corruption.

The prime minister also discussed the democratization of publife, Tunisia's relations with the United States and the Israeli raid on our country on 1 October 1985.

The following is the complete text of that interview:

[Question] Thirty years after independence, it would appear that all the pillars of Tunisian society are beginning to tremble: The university is paralyzed, the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor] is off course and the status of women as conceived by Habib Bourguiba is questioned by a generation of young people greatly influenced by the Islamists.

[Answer] It is normal for the evolution of a free and independent society to experience difficulties or contradictions; the same is true within a family. But this does not constitute a danger to the stability or choice of civilization of that country. In the university, the strike fad has not yet passed, as it has in France or the United States, but it will. As for the Personal Status Code (which since 1956 has conferred certain rights on women, Ed.), even those speaking on behalf of a certain religious trend did not challenge it when I met with them.

We are working to find jobs for the young, particularly young university graduates, because thanks to our accomplishments, we now have young lawyers, doctors and engineers, perhaps too many of them! We have to adapt training to the needs of the economy. The latter is facing difficulties because our basic products are sold at ever lower prices, when those imported from the wealthier nations cost more and more. How can we solve this? Oil is going down in quantity and price; our citrus fruits, wines and textiles face the protectionist tendencies of the Common Market. The rich countries get richer while the poor go into debt. That is the problem.

[Question] But even in Tunisia, the distribution of wealth does not appear to be ideal because an official campaign has just been launched against corruption.

[Answer] It is because we wear immaculate clothing that the slightest spot is immediately evident and stands out. The fight against corruption is nothing new; we had to fight the aftereffects of the protectorate that encouraged it and Bourguiba never ceased preaching honesty. It is the government which is putting the spotlight on cases of corruption. We have nothing to hide.

[Question] For 6 years, you have personally committed yourself to "democratizing" public life, but your bill on political parties is now rejected by the entire opposition. How can the legislative elections next November then be held under the proper conditions?

[Answer] My goal is to reconcile the need for development and work discipline with the need for freedom, which is not always easy. It requires of the citizens what Montesquieu called "virtue." In order to make democracy, several are necessary, just as in marriage, where it takes two.

At the present time, four parties are recognized under the 1959 law. We have drafted a new bill, we have received responses and we are ready to debate. At any rate, with or without that law, we are moving toward democracy. I have said that I wanted the elections next November to take place under the proper conditions and I would even say, just as I wanted them to take place in 1981.

[Question] But political life seems increasingly dominated by the president's advisers, who appear to render your government's action relative.

[Answer] That is not true. I believe that as prime minister, I am the president's main adviser. He does me the honor of meeting with me every day, of hearing my proposals and expressing his wishes.

The other advisers are government ministers. Naturally, the president has many friends and party members with whom he engages in discussion, but all the rest is gossip exchanged under the ficus (Avenue Bourguiba, the Champs-Elysees of Tunis, Ed.).

[Question] The fact nevertheless remains that for 20 years, everything has depended on the matter of who takes over after the "Supreme Combatant."

[Answer] Certain persons have political ambitions, but if you read the constitution and if you listen to President Bourguiba, the problem is simple: The day when the presidency is vacant, the prime minister (I am not saying Mzali) will take over that office until the next legislative elections. Unfortunately, you are right. Since the president's heart attack in March 1967, certain impatient politicians have noticed that Bourguiba was mortal and begun to say: "Why not me?" That explains many of the crises or mini-crises.

[Question] Tunisia has just suffered two serious shocks on the international level: the crisis with Libya and the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis. Did something break with your American allies?

[Answer] That term must be defined more precisely. We have no allies anywhere, but we do have friends. It so happens that during the war of independence, the United States was with us against French colonialism. When we found no weapons elsewhere, they sold them to us; they did not give them to us. It also so happens that President Bourguiba has always believed that the Western camp was the camp of freedom. When the war in Vietnam was going on or when there have been certain East-West tensions, he was on that side, without ever signing any alliance agreement with anyone.

We are friends of the United States and of France, which is why the president was upset by the American approval of the Israeli raid on 1 October 1985. And unlike other Arab leaders who do a lot of swaggering, he called in the American ambassador and told him: "If the United States votes against us (in the UN Security Council, Ed.), I will break off relations with you." The fact that they abstained was a relief to him, but the Tunisian people realized that while we are friends with the United States, Israel is their pet. We have now understood that if Israel should strike at Tunisia, the United States would be on Israel's side. That is a shock, but it is not a matter of going off to war against any great power.

There is nothing to reconsider because we remain in control of our own decisions. We were traumatized and it took a great deal of work to keep the people's discontent within civilized limits, in order to prevent from happening in Tunis that which happened after the June 1967 War, in which the people burned the synagogue and the British Embassy. I understand the anger of the Tunisian young people and intellectuals, but we are responsible for the lives and property of our friends in Tunisia.

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TUNISIA

HOUSING EFFORTS, SLUM ERADICATION CONTINUE UNABATED

Conference on Low-Income Housing

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 27 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Nejiba Ouelhazi: "A New Perspective Needed"]

[Text] The shacks which made up two-thirds of all housing in 1956 now account for only nine percent. This was the main lesson learned from the first day of the international conference on low-income housing organized by the capital in cooperation with the International Association of French-Speaking Municipalities now being held at the Mechtel Hotel in Tunis.

Hedi Ennifer, chairman of the board of SNIT [Tunisian National Real Estate Company] and mayor of Bardo, explained in his address how the evolution in Tunisian housing, from shacks to low-income housing, had taken place.

In 1956, Tunisia had 3.6 million inhabitants with an estimated 600,000 housing units, 400,000 of them shacks, available.

Population growth was 2.6 a year. The gap between the need for housing and the number of inhabitants was quite clear. It was therefore necessary to work to build housing and improve that existing because decent housing is a necessary condition for and effective policy of development.

In 1957, that need was fulfilled with the establishment of SNIT, whose financing comes from the budget and which was placed in charge of managing the government's real estate holdings, promoting low-income housing, overseeing work and completing architectural studies.

Priority to the Poor

In order to benefit from such housing, candidates had to make an initial payment equal to 30 percent of the total price and pay the rest of the sum over 15 years with an interest rate not over 5 percent.

In this way, SNIT was able to build 75,000 units between 1960 and 1975, thus helping to attenuate the housing crisis that had long raged in the capital. It also developed certain industries such as the building materials industry.

However, this choice, which gives priority to social needs, was not without disadvantages because the government could not continue to finance SNIT projects. Furthermore, the choice of buyers was mainly based on social criteria rather than solvency. Collection of payment was therefore slow and SNIT was forced to save on the cost of research and development.

New Strategy

In order to get out of the dilemma, it was therefore necessary to conceive a new strategy and create other operators alongside SNIT such as the AFH [Real Estate Housing Agency] for the sale of lots, the CNEL [National Home Savings Fund] for financing and the ONAS [National Public Sanitation Office] for sanitation.

The AFH has so far developed and sold 1,722 hectares of land, or the equivalent of 56,430 units.

Around 1975, it shifted its concentration to the capital, but since 1980, its action has extended to other regions.

The CNRSS [National Retirement and Social Security Fund] and the CNRPS [National Retirement and Social Welfare Fund] have also taken up the problem, building rental housing for their affiliates. Some 6,000 units have been built by SPROLS [Social Housing Development Company] and nearly 5,000 by the CNRPS.

Slowdown

But the current system, while effective, now faces several limitations. Land belonging to SNIT and the AFH is encumbered by the law on agricultural zones dated 11 November 1983.

In addition, private interests are speculating in housing areas, thus causing land prices to rise, which prevents the construction of social housing. The problem of sanitation also remains in some areas, in addition to limitations of financing. The system of the CNEL, which prefinances work, was based on 8,000 savers a year, but there are now 30,000, which destroys the financial balance of that operator. The retirement and social security banks have slowed down their construction of rental housing, while private parties have lost all interest in low-cost housing, deeming it to be unprofitable.

The current system can therefore no longer meet needs and yield the results it did a few years ago, which is why another strategy must be designed to find other financing, revise the system of financing of the CNEL, orient the AFH toward the social sector and set up a complet program to replace all shacks and marginal housing throughout the republic.

Report on Slum Eradication

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 27 Jan 86 p 3

[Text] Meeting Thursday under the gavel of the chief of state, the Cabinet drew up a national plan to eradicate the 116,000 shacks counted in the country.

Preliminary credits will in the days ahead be made available to governors in order initially to wipe out nearly 30,000 of these haphazard huts, while waiting for new financial resources to be allocated.

The government chose three principles to govern the program after its study: 1) an overall estimate of investments needed to carry out the program and of the land to be developed, especially in communal areas; 2) the drafting of specific programs for each governorate, taking into account the social conditions of candidates and determining the amount of self-financing and the rate of additional aid from which each might benefit, in order to proceed to rebuild or repair housing. These different operations must be completed within the framework of self-construction and under the guidance of the competent regional technical departments. 3) This program of eradicating slums must be linked to development and programs to fight the rural exodus, by creating decent living conditions for the poor (housing, sources of income) that will attach them to their land and keep them in their regions.

Efforts To Eradicate Slums

Tunis DIALOGUE in French 27 Jan 86 pp 35-36

[Article by Chaouki Ben Abdallah]

[Text] Housing, the symbol of a sedentary life and stability, is a common goal of the different civilizations.

Actually, residential societies differ culturally from nomadic societies.

But beyond that, housing is above all a container for the individual and the home the sign of a certain accomplishment.

In Tunisia as in other countries, the census is first of all based on the population -- the contents -- and housing -- the container (see the 1975 and 1984 censuses and surveys on household consumption in 1980).

But a decent container, meaning one that "respects" the human person, is the goal of any development project.

As the time comes to evaluate the record in preparing to draft the Seventh Economic and Social Development Plan, it would be wise to recall that the goal set forth by the Sixth Plan in terms of housing concerns the completion of 160,000 units -- 32,000 a year -- for a total investment of 1 billion dinars, representing 12.2 percent of the total investment package (see tables below).

Accomplishment of those projections should make it possible, on the one hand, to meet additional demand estimated at 150,000 units -- 30,000 a year -- and, on the other hand, to improve living conditions through the completion of 10,000 units -- 2,000 a year -- within the general framework of the process of slum eradication.

Type of Housing

	Fifth Plan		Sixth Plan	
	No.	%	No.	%
SNIT*	71,000	44.4	100,000	62.5
Rural housing	(36,700)	22.9	(40,000)	25.0
Suburban housing	(18,100)	11.3	(42,500)	26.6
Economical housing	(15,400)	9.7	(17,000)	10.6
"Luxury" housing	(800)	0.5	(500)	0.3
Social Security Organizations	4,100	2.6	6,500	4.0
Private Sector	84,900	53.0	53,500	33.5
Total	160,000	100.0	160,000	100.0

Investments (in millions of dinars)

	Fifth Plan		Sixth Plan	
SNIT	229.0	30.1	488.5	48.9
Rural housing	(48.0)	6.3	74.2	7.4
Suburban housing	(61.0)	8.0	228.4	22.9
Economical housing	(109.0)	14.3	174.7	17.5
"Luxury" housing	(11.0)	1.5	11.2	1.1
Social Security Organizations	36.0	4.7	66.5	6.6
Private Sector	495.0	65.2	445.0	44.5
Total	760.0	100.0	1,000.0	100.0

* SNIT [Tunisian National Real Estate Company]

The humanism of national planning forces planning to be concerned with adapting the supply of housing to the material means of the buyers. Actually, some two-thirds of the households reportedly have average annual expenditures of under 1,380 dinars and could not therefore acquire housing costing over 5,500 dinars. (See survey on consumption of households previously cited.)

A second parameter sheds light on the choice of planners: 40 percent of the subscriptions into the CNEL [National Home Savings Fund] at the end of 1981 concern suburban-type housing, whence the priority granted to the construction of rural and suburban housing under the Sixth Plan.

Shifts

Inasmuch as the purchasers were the main concern of the national housing policy, adequate additional measures have already been taken and others will follow, regarding in particular: an increase in the subsidy granted to rural housing from 270 to 325 dinars; the services of the Housing Promotion Fund for Wage-earners (FOPROLOS), which were extended to wage earners (twice the SMIG [guaranteed minimum wage] instead of 1.5); an increased effort on the part of the CNSS [National Committee for Social Solidarity, National Social Security Fund] and consolidation of its contribution in credits at the rate of 2,000 dinars for the expansion and improvement of housing, as well as for the purchase of land; the institution of an Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation Agency (ARRU) responsible for the improvement of housing conditions; reduction in the period of savings-housing to 2 years for the regions deemed deprived.

There consequently seems to exist a clear determination to transcend a crisis that has lasted and that helps no one except land and real estate speculators.

Naturally, the ideal would be a well-thought-out, sincere approximation of equality of opportunity to access to housing.

Only then will the effort to eradicate the slums and build new housing have the latitude to expand freely.

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BOURGUIBA, JR'S ROLE IN GOVERNMENT ASSESSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 5 Feb 86 p 19

[Text] The dismissal of Habib Bourguiba, Jr, special adviser to the president of the Tunisian Republic (and his only son) from the government was an extraordinary incident because the man is not one of the ministers who is in at one time and out at another according to the directions of the wind of politics. Even if at certain stages he joined forces with one faction in the government against another, he was always the more powerful because the winds that were belowing everyone else away were not capable of shaking him from his positions. The secret of this power is that he has had a firm foothold in the Carthage Palace since he assumed the cabinet portfolio in the 1970's.

Before Tunisia's independence, the son of the Liberal Constitution (Destour) Party's leader received his education in Tunisia and France (he was born in Paris in 1927 of a French mother who was a supporter of the Tunisian struggle) until he obtained a degree in law from the University of Grenoble. In 1953, he became a lawyer like his father. When Tunisia became indepedent, Bourguiba, Jr, has begun his first-experience in the cabinet after he was appointed Chef de Cabinet of the Foreign Ministry in 1956. The Foreign Ministry led him, via its embassies, to the highest of diplomatic positions since he occupied the post of Tunisia's ambassador to Rome, then Paris, Washington, Ottawa and Mexico. This long journey ended in his accession to the office of Foreign Minister when Bourguiba, Jr, became head of the Tunisian diplomacy in the second half of the 1960's. He also joined the top echelon leaders of the ruling Destourian Party with his appointment as a member of the Political Bureau during the "Congress of Destiny" in Bizerte, in 1964. This is the post that he has continued to occupy, without interruption, from that date until now; and that has helped him to become one of the engineers of Tunisian domestic and foreign policy.

When Ahmed Ben Salah, leader of the cooperative experiment fell in the 1960's, Bourguiba, Jr, proceeded to work in the shadows for years until the autumn 1977 crisis with the trade unions occurred when Prime Minister Medi Nouird forcefully dismissed Tahar Belkhodja, his powerful minister of the interior from the cabinet, thus leading to the resignation of 6 ministers in solidarity with his dismissed colleague. Hedi Nouirad rearranged affairs in the government house on the basis of new balances to fill the vacuum left by the liberal wing's exit. The new balance was based on 2 political symbols--Bourguiba, Jr, who at that time was appointed special adviser to the president of the republic and Mohamed Sayah, the director of the party apparatus at that time.

Since that date, the man has remained the third of the three decisionmakers--President Bourguiba, the prime minister, and Bourguiba, Jr. The political storms such as the 1978 labor incidents and the Gafsa incidents in 1980, in which Nouirad was finally removed and Sayah was weakened, did not result in the shaking of the special adviser's position or in the shrinking of his role; but rather, this role continued when Mzali was entrusted with the prime ministership. What attracts one's attention is that this role assumes many special characteristics in comparison to the roles of the other men in the government. Three of these special characteristics can be mentioned:

--Bourguiba, Jr, who has occupied the post of ambassador to Washington is unquestionably considered the preferred interlocutor by the Americans and their best friend in the Tunisian political elite. They have woven special and strong relations with him in a way which they have not done with others.

--He is linked by very strong friendships with some officials in the Gulf states and, from time to time, makes visits to Gulf capitals to discuss common political and economic matters.

--He is the only one among the current men in the government who maintains solid and discreet bonds of friendship with Ahmed Ben Salah, who leads the opposition movement from abroad.

What also attracts one's attention is that Bourguiba, Jr, played a decisive role in the dismissal of Driss Guiga, the former minister of the interior, after the "bread incidents" in 1984 and in renewing President Bourguiba's trust in his prime minister, Mzali. Since that social agitation, the government has continued to be based on the balance of the two big leading figures in the government--Mzali and Bourguiba, Jr. However, in recent months, some disagreements and conflicts have begun to come to the surface between the two men. The government's policy vis-a-vis the trade unions and the campaign to fight corruption and the misappropriation of state funds, which the prime minister announced in recent days and which led to the resignation of some well-known personalities such as Mohamed Belhadj, the former President of Tunis Air, had become drawn out.

In the face of this disagreement that reached a level which was not allowing the continuation of coexistence under one government roof, President Bourguiba behaved, as he had with former ministers who did not get along with Mzali--namely, he removed obstacles from the path of his prime minister, even if it was at the expense of his son, and granted him anew the opportunity to work at the head of a harmonious team.

However, anyone who knows of the intimate relations between President Bourguiba and his son and the esteem that one holds for the other, realizes that this dismissal will not last and that the possibility for reconciliation between the President of the Republic and his special adviser is imminent.

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FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH LIBYA

Tunis AL-HAQA'IQ in Arabic 14 Feb 86 pp 5,6

[Interview with Tunisian Foreign Minister Beji Caid Essebsi: "Present Relations Are Not What They Should Be;" date and place not specified]

[Text] [Answer, Question not given] Today's relations do not exhibit the solidarity which has always existed between the two peoples. When we look to the future, which we must never lose sight of, it is also clear that these existing relations are not the sort which allow us to face tomorrow with any degree of equanimity. However, this situation was imposed on Tunisia against our will, for it was the Libyan regime which took the first steps in the deterioration of relations, through conduct hostile and antagonistic to Tunisia. Not only did Libya expel Tunisian workers under circumstances which we all know and which are totally unacceptable, but it also stripped them of all their possessions. Ever since early 1985, the Libyan regime has frozen trade relations, exchanges, industrial projects, tourist accounts including the accounts of Tunisians living in Libya, and deals with Tunisian contractors which were completed but never paid for. We must not forget the concerted newspaper attacks and the terrorist acts, the most recent being the parcel bombs addressed to journalists which explode in the mailman's face. What is more, such parcel bombs have been placed in diplomatic pouches dispatched by diplomats. All this has forced Tunisia to sever relations with Libya. And what do we say now? We are the victims of aggression, and we have conducted ourselves within the bounds of legitimate self-defense. Even should the aggression stop, somehow or other it seems that the Libyan officials who began this aggression have an appetite for the losses caused by their conduct. Nevertheless, we as a state have duties towards the dispossessed Tunisian citizens who were in Libya on contracts concluded according to legal requirements after free negotiations and signed by the prefecture as well as the social security administration, and who held valid, legal residence permits. Therefore, the Tunisian state has a moral obligation towards its citizens. If the Libyans are willing to make amends for these wrongs, as they have told all our friends, then this can be considered evidence of their good intentions. This is a first step, and we shall see what follows. Tunisia is not overlooking this situation, but it has observed that current relations are not what they should be, and in fact are regrettable. Tunisia has noted that it bears no responsibility for the deterioration of relations--the other side bears the responsibility. Tunisia declares that it is ready to talk things over in order to arrive at a solution for this situation, but such a solution is impossible unless it evolves from a Libyan initiative and effort to demonstrate good intentions.

[Question] Has Libya done anything to show its good intentions?

[Answer] When the Libyans met with our friends, they said that they were ready. We say, "We like that a lot, but go one step further." This is why I say that the significance of the situation, in a certain unrealistic way, lies in waiting for perceptible turn-arounds, since an evolutionary course in the opposite direction must be pursued. We have experienced a retrogression, and we must follow the right path--which in this case must be an evolutionary course inasmuch as cooperation will no doubt be met with a violent blow because of the Libyans' behavior. But even so, Tunisia will never object to improving its relations with its neighbors, as long as it can see good will and practical measures which it will meet with its own good preparations and practical measures.

[Question] According to Libyan Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Salam al-Tariki, there have been Tunisian-Libyan negotiations in Paris on resuming relations between the two countries. Is this so?

[Answer] Obviously, Tunisia has had no hand in the condition of existing Tunisian-Libyan relations. We regret that relations are not as they should be between fraternal, neighboring states. In fact, Tunisia has been subjected to hostility in past months, and was thus forced to resort to severing its diplomatic relations with its neighbor Libya. But we are not judging the future, because we have not forgotten that past relations between the Tunisian and Libyan peoples were good. We regret the present condition of these relations, and we hope that they will get better. The fact remains that Tunisia is also a party to the dialog, and is willing to talk with anyone, because it has confidence in itself and in its rights and duties. Several fraternal and friendly states have tried to find a solution to this crisis. Tunisia has explained its stand on the aggression which has caused it such harm. It is only fair that this damage be redressed and that the losses suffered by Tunisia as a result of this crisis be repaid. After that, everything is possible with respect to the future.

[Question] You haven't said whether there were Tunisian-Libyan negotiations in Paris.

[Answer] There were no negotiations--there were only attempts by several parties to get both sides to overcome this crisis. I explained Tunisia's stand to you a while ago.

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TUNISIA

NEWSPAPER EMPLOYEES STAY ON JOB, CIRCULATE PETITION

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 14 Feb 86 p 16

[Article by Muhammad Ma'ali: "AL-SHA'B Employees Defend Their Right To Work and Boycott the Supervisors"]

[Text] After the supervisors at the head office of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor in Rue de Grece and the AL-SHA'B offices in Rue de Carthage met together, they asked the newspaper's employees and administrative assistants to stay home until further notice was given for them to return to their jobs.

It should be mentioned that ever since the authorities decided to shut down the main organ of the labor federation, the above-mentioned newspaper workers and assistants had been coming to work and collecting their wages, waiting for the paper to resume publication.

After examining the recent situation of the federation, discussing what stand should be taken in the face of the possibility that the supervisors might publish AL-SHA'B themselves, denouncing "the attack carried out against the federation's offices and AL-SHA'B in particular by unknown gangs on the night of 20-21 January," and expressing their feeling that "the supervisors are not qualified to run AL-SHA'B and therefore it is impossible to deal with them in any way," these employees made the following declarations in a 13-page petition.

"We are committed to the federation's framework of legitimacy and to all its decisions, the source and basis of any dealings within the organization.

"We sternly reject all forms of appointment, retainment of services, and trusteeship as being imcompatible with the country's constitution and moral values.

"We stand by the organizations' legal representative, in this case the newspaper's license-holder, in all professional transactions.

"We insist on defending our right to work on the free newspaper AL-SHA'B, which is committed to objective news and to the just causes of the workers, within the context of the federation's legality."

The signatories to the petition concluded their statement by calling on democratic forces to stand alongside them in defense of the freedom of opinion and expression and the sovereignty of the law.

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TUNISIA

BRIEFS

SOVIETS MEDIATE CRISIS--Will the normalization of relations, recently broken, between Tunisia and Libya take place soon? Information concerning increased efforts at mediation indicate that this is the case. We learned that the Soviets intervened with both neighboring countries to "improve relations in order to confront the common enemy of the Arab nation." The Soviet initiative followed the recent American threats made against Libya. These mediation efforts followed those by Syria which sought and achieved as initial results the cessation of press campaigns between the two countries. Recently, during a press conference transmitted by Radio Tripoli, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi expressed his willingness to visit Tunisia "in order to resolve all the problems that have arisen with that country." Tunisia has set three conditions for normalization: compensation for the financial losses suffered by Tunisian industrialists and businessmen who have not received payment for goods sent to Libya, the regulating of the return of Tunisian expatriates in progressive stages, and the closing of training camps for anti-Tunisian forces. [Text] [Tunis REALITES in French 17 Jan 86 p 14] 9824

CSO: 4519/58

IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL REACHES NEW LOW

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 8 Jan 86 pp 5, 8

[Text] There are 57 immigration representatives in Jewish communities in Europe, the United States, Canada, and South America. In the past year they were instrumental in the immigration of approximately 7,000 people. Each such representative costs $50,000 annually. In other words, a total of $3 million. The author talked to two of the representatives who have just come back from the United States and asked them for the reasons for the decline in immigration in the past year and whether this continued expenditure can be justified.

Gil Vardi, who was the immigration representative in San Francisco until 1984, attributes the reduced immigration to the decline in Israel's attraction. The reasons: economic, political, and security problems, in addition to cultural barriers and the quality of life. The Lebanon War also had its effect. "I remember some who told me that they were postponing their immigration because of the war. Actually, the decline in immigration has continued, with the exception of one spike, since the Six Day War."

"Another reason," indicates Gil, "unique to San Francisco, is Israel's image as a conservative, religious state. That cannot possibly be attractive to the openness and liberalism of San Francisco. In addition, Americans tend to evaluate things in terms of economic values, and thus, with Israel's economic problems, we can very well understand the hesitation of American Jews to immigrate--especially those in whom we are interested: the liberal and secular. Even those who hoped that the high unemployment in the United States would induce immigration to Israel are likely to be disappointed. Unemployment affects mostly the lower income brackets and not the middle and high income bracket to which most Jews belong."

Uninspired Representatives

As to the representatives' work, says Gil, "Most of them are sincere and have good intentions, but the system does not prepare them for the complex role and is not set up, organizationally and functionally, to guide them and oversee their work.

"The representatives, many of whom are responsible for several regions, even outside of the metropolitan area where they are located, do not have a multi-year plan in which the next year's goals are clearly stated. The result--a representative arrives at a community which is not prepared for him, and without coordination with the local Jewish Federation. More often than not, upon his arrival, members of the community are at some other function for Hadassah or Israeli Bonds.

"Sometimes there is an alienation between the Jewish communities and the Jewish Federation on the one hand, and the representatives, on the other hand, because the latter are brought in from the outside, without knowing the American environment. Instead of cooperating with the community on the subject of immigration, the representatives find themselves busy with technical issues, they interview the candidates and are not exposed to the rest of the community. They do not avail themselves of the media--radio, television, or newspapers, in order to advertise their work.

"All told," says Gil, "their work is stilted, lacks initiative and inspiration. Most of the contact between the representatives and the Jewish Agency is when emissaries come for quick visits to the city, which is one of the major tourist attractions. An example, a rather high official of the Jewish Agency arrived at the city where I was and did not even see fit to peek in my office. When I criticized him, he gave me a bad review...Or, the former chief of immigration, Refa'el Qotlovitz, came for a visit with a one day lead time. Obviously the chief of the Jewish Federation refused to meet him on such short notice.

Politization

"When I returned to Israel," says Gil, "I told my superiors that in view of the experience I had acquired, in addition to the managerial experience I had prior to that (before going to the United States Gil was general manager of the city of Netanya and an expert on city management), I could construct a model for the activities of the representatives and for reorganizing the system. To date I have not heard from them."

On another subject, the politization of the system, a senior official in the immigration and absorption system, who preferred not to be named, claims that many of the appointments are based on political affiliations and personal contacts, rather than on skills and qualifications. The political and personal preferences are at the expense of the representatives' effectiveness and the success of the whole system. The result--there is a lot of resistance to the whole concept on the part of Jewish communities, having had the experience of repeated disappointments, inaccurate information, and unfulfilled expectations.

There were representatives who used their position for their own benefit and thus contributed to the communal antagonism against the system. Many of the accusations about political and personal preferences are directed at the head of the Immigration Department, Hayim Aharon, who treats the organization as if it were his own, and often disqualifies very capable candidates, even from his own party. To be honest, if the names of the representatives are examined, it can be seen that most of them belong to Likud: the head of the immigration delegation in England, recently appointed, is Asher Viner, former general manager of the Housing Ministry. Then there are Hayim Shayn, head of the delegation to the United States, Yisra'el Dori in Argentina, Eli Cohen in France, Ze'ev Mahna'i, and more.

Quotas

Hayim Aharon himself sees no harm in that: "The head of the immigration delegation is my personal representative on location, and we have to see eye to eye with each other. I obviously tend to prefer people who are close to me and whose ability I can trust. If you look at the public relations department, the Youth Immigration Department and the Organization Department of the Jewish Agency, there isn't one person there who is not a Likud member. Someone has to think of a balance, and I think that my approach is legitimate."

Reorganization

As to the particular point, Aharon agrees with criticism of the system. "We are aware of the problem and we therefore completely changed the departmental course; we introduced elements of the reality of absorption in Israel, rather than only lectures on Zionism and immigration. Today, emmisaries live with the immigrants in absorption centers and undergo the absorption process with them. We started using video presentations and our information program will take a 180 degree turn around. We have also begun an experimental program with five Jewish communities, with the purpose of integrating them into the immigration project. We are conducting a comprehensive survey in the United States to examine all the questions relating to treatment of the immigrant, using methods, terms, and approaches that can be understood by the designated population. In additon, we will attempt to locate in the United States 100 graduates of various Israeli educational programs, in order to initiate immigration contacts with them, and we will also be reorganizing the Aliya Department in the United States. I can promise you that Aliya emissaries that left Israel this year will be much better than previous ones, and I am pinning a lot of hope not only on the number of immigrants, but also on the quality of our work and its long range effect."

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INCREASED EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION WITH FRANCE

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 8 Jan 86 p 8

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister and Education Minister Yitzhaq Navon and his French counterpart, Jean-Pierre Chevenement, agreed on 7 January to wider educational cooperation between the two countries.

In a meeting held in Minister Navon's office it was agreed to increase the number of those studying Hebrew and French in the two countries. Right now there are 5,300 French students studying Hebrew and thousands more university students are enrolled in Hebrew language and culture studies.

Is was also decided that both countries will come to an agreement on mutual recognition of university degrees. France agreed to give academic credits to French students studying in Israel. It is hoped in the Ministry of Education that this will open the door to a larger number of Jewish students to come to study in Israel and consequently to settle there, too.

The ministers also agreed to examine history and geography text books and to exchange information on teaching methods.

In cultural areas it was agreed to expand cooperation in film making and to hold art exhibits in Israel and France.

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ISRAEL

CRITICAL WATER SHORTAGE DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] "Water flow in the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers has almost come to a stop. Underground resevoir levels continue to go down, the Sea of Galilee is at a low and water resevoirs are empty," reported Meqorot spokesman Mordekhay Ya'aqubovitz on 9 January as he described water conditions in Israel resulting from the continued drought.

During the week of 12 January a meeting was to be held at the initiation of the Agriculture Ministry. Representatives of the Water Authority were to be among the participants. The meeting was called to give final approval to the Water Authority's plan to cut 100-200 million cubic meters of water to agriculture in the coming summer.

The recent drought has caused further deterioration in the growing hydrological deficit, which now amounts to 1.5 billion cubic meters, an amount equal to the total annual consumption of the whole country. In Meqorot's wells in the Lod area the water is already below the pumps and no more water can thus be pumped.

In the Yavne region the level of the underground resevoir has gone down by 1.5 meters, and in Ma'anit, by 3 meters. The springs which supplied drinking water to Bet-Qeshet in the Golan Heights have all but dried up and Meqorot is now supplying water to the settlement through a special pipe. The level of the Sea of Galilee is 211.82 meters below sea level and water flow in the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers has almost ceased.

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ISRAEL

NEW DMI CHIEF, AMNON LIPKIN, PROFILED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 2 Feb 86 p 13

[Article by Ya'ir Amiqam: "A New Chief for Military Intelligence"]

[Text] Brigadier General Amnon Lipkin (42), the new head of the IDF Directorate of Military Intelligence [DMI] (the 12th DMI chief), today took over office. Lipkin, who was born in Tel Aviv, is the youngest among the general staff generals. At the age of 14 he enrolled in the Military Academy of Haifa. While other boys his age were playing soccer in the street, Amnon was already firing guns and parachuting from airplanes. Nevertheless, Amnon is not a great admirer of the military school, a fact which he did not hide at the press interview. "We could live without the Military Academy, too," Lipkin said. "The question is how much it cost the Israeli nation, and whether the results justify the investment. The Military Academy did not give me much. It did not contribute anything from a military viewpoint, and as for other values, any other educational institution can provide the same values. What I did acquire did not come from the curriculum there, but from the human environment in which I spent that period. From a military viewpoint, there is no significant difference whether you learn those subjects at the academy or within the framework of paramilitary instruction at a regular school. One does not have to go to the Military Academy to learn how to fire a gun, and more than that we did not learn there..."

He speaks and behaves as if he were at all times on the point of being released from the IDF. His attitude toward the army is marked by some humour and a lot of cynicism. He loves its professionalism, but he certainly does not view it as a way of life, despite the fact that he has been a soldier since high school age.

There is a certain reserve, perhaps even aloofness about Brig Gen Amnon Lipkin, and not just toward the media, whose spotlight he carefully avoids, but as part of his nature. He shuns any type of publicity, and would do so even if he believed in its importance. Does he view it as a waste of time, or has this become a sort of "complex?" He is not interested in answering that question, either. An IDF spokesman laconically met all interview requests with "Gen Amnon Lipkin is not interested in interviews or profiles."

He does not participate in exercises, most of which have become a sort of observer spectacle. He always places himself in a quiet corner and is content to make quiet remarks to whoever stands next to him. In most cases those are cynical remarks; cynicism, just as the other above mentioned traits, is part of his personality.

What we have said so far about Gen Lipkin was not meant as criticism or as an attempt to bring to light his other facets. About Lipkin the military man one can say only positive things. That at least is the conclusion from his long record. Will this help him in his position as DMI chief? No one is willing to risk a bet. In the case of too many DMI chiefs their performance in "old age" betrayed the promise of their youth. DMI people say, half jokingly, half in earnest, that every second DMI chief has been fired. Brig Gen Ehud Baraq, the previous DMI chief, managed to escape. And now the position is filled by General Lipkin.

When in 1983 he was appointed to command IDF troops in Beirut, he found himself in the middle of the hot waters created by the relations between Christians and Druze in the Shuf Mountains. Later, as commander of the Central District, he was once again in a tough spot, this time having to do with the relations between Jews and Arabs in Judaea and Samaria. There, like here, this military man found himself cast in the role of pacifier, mediator, and arbitrator.

While still in Lebanon he had said to somebody: "You see? Our role is the classic role of a soccer judge. We did not come here to be loved, and no one has any reason to love us. I cannot speak for them, but it is possible that in a moment of truth they may have to admit that we have done something for both sides. We saved them lives.

"One of the more important jobs is to take care of ourselves. But it is not the only one... We are stopping the Syrian army; had we not been here, they would have occupied at the least the Beirut-Damascus Highway. In such conditions the Lebanese government would not have been able to take the decisions it did. Our being here forces us to react to terrorist actions. I am not certain that we have fully grasped the historical relations here. You do not have villains on one side and innocents on the other. They are all equally villains."

When he came into office as commander of the Central District, one newspaper wrote that ever since Lipkin's arrival as the new general, the inhabitants of the settlements have found no reason to cheer, nor do they come out of interviews with him with the feeling that everything will be alright. In a crowded room of the Qiryat Arba' Council, General Lipkin had said previous to the above statement: "Whoever has had stones thrown at him should chase the stone thrower and catch him." In everyday reality, particularly in view of past West Bank experience, such a statement can create a new legal reality and a changed situation that even the general himself had not intended.

On the other hand, even while pointing with concern to attacks on Jews, he also said that avenging missions against the Arabs are a serious mistake that can only harm the relations between the two sides. "It is not possible to ensure that no stones will be thrown in Judaea and Samaria, and anyone who promises such a thing will not be able to keep his word. Nevertheless, one must continue to strive to deal with the problems and to seek answers to the emerging questions. There is no deterioration in the situation in Judaea and Samaria. From a factual viewpoint, that is not true. What happened was simply that while the war was going on in Lebanon, no one was paying attention to the stone-throwing in Judaea and Samaria and to the fact that people were being hurt. Today, when the Lebanon war is over, everyone is paying attention."

[Box on page 13]

The Only One with Two Bravery Decorations

Amnon Lipkin's record shows long service in the paratroopers. He has filled the entire range of possitions possible, has fought in all the wars, and has participated in every raid across the border; he has also attended national security courses in the country and in the United States. But more significant than all the above are perhaps the two bravery medals pinned on his chest. He is the only one in the country to have received two such decorations.

The first bravery medal was won in June 1968, when Captain Amnon Lipkin was the commanding officer in the Kharma mission. His unit had been caught in hellish enemy fire in the area of the Damiya Bridge. Tanks and artillery guns had been pouring their fire on them an entire day, and Captain Amnon Lipkin, with a calm that amazed his men, never stopped evacuatating the wounded, pulling out soldiers stuck in their positions, and encouraging friends. And all that in an area exposed to the enemy.

The second bravery order came in April 1973, when Amnon Lipkin was in command of the troops that raided the headquarters of the Democratic Front in Beirut. The squad was discovered and fire was opened on the men from the building. Three soldiers were wounded in the first round of fire. Amnon continued to run his mission, evacuated the wounded, destroyed the enemy force, and blew up the building. For this action he was awarded the medal personally by the late Chief of Staff Dado.

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ISRAEL

COMMUNIST MK TAWFIQ TUBI INTERVIEWED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 157, 4 Dec 85 pp 23-26, 34

[Interview with Tawfiq Tubi, communist member of Knesset, by Tom Segev: "My Father Did Not Teach Me To Be A Communist"; in Haifa, date not specified]

> [Text] Tawfiq Tubi has sat in the Knesset since its first days; he was 26 years old, the youngest member. Only Me'ir Vilner and Yosef Burg have remained along with him, from Knesset to Knesset. Almost 40 years he has been in politics and never, he says, has he been interviewed. The evening before the 20th committe meeting of his party, scheduled for this week in Haifa, 20 years after the split in MAQI, Tubi, 63, talks about himself and the politics between Arabs and Jews (he says "the Jewish mainstream") and between Haifa and Moscow. He gave advanced approval for what is published here and this makes it an autobiographical document.

Olga Tubi, Mr Tubi's wife, is a good cook. She has a chicken in the oven, well covered with pine nuts, zuucchini stuffed with farmer's cheese; her baked goods are also superb. They received the reporter in a congenial, unpretentious atmosphere. Their son, Elyas, a physician at Rothschild Hospital, had whisky. They also had a house guest from Beirut, an aunt of Mr Tubi. His mother, a pleasant old lady, asked the reporter if he was also a communist. When the reporter said he was not, she turned to the Beirut guest and whispered something in her ear and they both laughed. The reporter was told that she did not believe him.

The apartment is on the second floor on a small street in Wadi Nisnes in Haifa. It is not large. Tawfiq Tubi has been living there since 1948. The walls are filled with books, in Arabic, Hebrew and English. It is obvious they have been read. In the anteroom there are photographs of Emil Tuma, cousin of Mr Tubi and brother of Mrs Tubi. He was one of the party leaders. He passed away recently. The aunt from Beirut was there on a condolence call. On one of the walls there is a large photograph of Tubi with Leonid Brezhnev, Andrey Gromyko and other communists, several hundred of them. Tubi needs a moment or two to find himself in the photograph, somewhere in one of the back rows.

When he was elected to the first Knesset he was 26, the youngest member. For the whole time since then, 37 years, he has been a member of Knesset. Only Me'ir Vilner and Yosef Burg have survived like him, from Knesset to Knesset. He is respected as a good parliamentarian. He is a pleasant man, his appearance commands respect, and he is now 63. He says he has never been interviewed. The reporter told him that the reason is that he likes to turn inward. "No," he answered, "it is because the media are closed to us." Tubi saw the interview as it was going to press and in that sense, this is an autobiographical document.

The first part of the interview shows, the author thinks, the sources of the Arabization of communism in Israel. Tubi's communism, as it turns out, was always identical for him with his national aspirations as a Palestinian Arab. This was true before the establishment of the state, and remained so afterwards. He made his career based on this identification. In a secret telegram that the American Consulate in Jerusalem sent to Washington in 1949 it was estimated that most Israeli Arabs would eventually support the communist party and that Tawfiq Tubi was going to be their leader.

RAKAH succeeded among Israeli Arabs because it knew how to offer them the magic formula of how to be patriotic Palestinians and loyal Israelis all at the same time. The Jews were not offered such a magic formula, and therefore it lost them. This is its greatest loss. It is easier to be an Arab communist than a Jewish communist. Tawfiq Tubi found microphones that the secret service planted in his home, but Mei'r Vilner was almost stabbed to death. An Arab communist is not required to deny the Palestinian national consensus. A Jewish communist is required to deny Zionisim. Most Jewish communists in Israel could not handle this dilemma--and they disappeared. The last remaining ones are hiding behind their Marxist conservatism. An Israeli Arab can support RAKAH without being a Marxist.

Fifth Generation

The author went to the party club with Mr Tubi. Passersby in the neighborhood greeted him. He shook hands, exchanged smiles with a small girl, conversed in a deep base voice, devoid of the pathos of his speeches, free from the burden of leadership. In the club, under Lenin's picture, he let himself be nostalgic for a few minutes. It was there that the interview really began. "I was born in Haifa," he started, "in May 1922. My parents were native to the city. So were their parents and their grandparents."

[Question] Their parents and grandparents?

[Answer] And their grandparents. I can trace four generations. I am the fifth generation. My mother's family is from the village of Iblin. My mother's grandfather was a Greek Orthodox priest.

[Question] Did you receive religious training?

[Answer] Like all children, we went to church on Sunday. My mother's grandfather is still buried in the churchyard, in the town. The town was destroyed but the church is still there and so is the grave. My father had a small business, household goods, furniture and everyday needs. He had a shop in Haifa. He died when I was 19 and I had to support the family. I am the oldest son. There are five of us, three brothers and two sisters. George is active in the party and Shafiq has a business in Haifa. Both sisters are married, one is in Nazareth and the other is in Haifa.

[Question] George married a Jewish woman.

[Answer] True. Tzipora, from Tel-Aviv. She used to be a communist in her youth. So was George. They used to meet on hikes and they expressed their desire to establish a family.

[Question] Did everyone agree?

[Answer] You know, of course they agreed, eventually. I asked them: Do you want her? Do you want him? Do you think it's going to last? It is important for the children that you remain together and that you are not separated by a different way of life. They said they would make the effort. That they wanted each other. Well, they did raise a happy family with successful children.

[Question] This was rather common among Christian Arab communists.

[Answer] No. Only a few cases. I studied in the Greek Orthodox elementary school in Haifa. In 1935 I transferred to the school of the British Mission in Jerusalem. The school was named after the bishop who founded it, Bishop Gobert School. It was on Mt Zion. A high school. We took the British matriculation examinations. The language of instruction was English. Of course we also studied Arabic. Fortunately for me we had a Lebanese teacher, a well known poet and writer, a communist. Ra'if Khuri. It was from him that I obtained my general outlook, and I became familiar with the movement. In 1938 the British expelled him. He returned to Beirut and has died since. He had a great influence on me. On others, too. There were many well known graduates out of this school: Emil Tuma, my brother George. Others, too. When I left the school in 1939 I was already associated with the Palestinian Communist Party, which was then still in the underground.

[Question] And its leader was the famous Musa, Radwan Hilu.

[Answer] Right. But I was not associated with him. There were activists and communist public officials who helped us organize activities in the school. We used to go to Bab-el-Heyl, the Jaffa Gate, and there we used to gather the little porters, bring them to school, and teach them how to read and write. We found a lot of satisfaction in that. Summers we used to go to the villages, in groups, to help out. As students we organized an association. We were helped by a well known personality, whom I later found out to be a communist, 'Abdallah Bandaq, of Bethlehem. I will always remember him with love and reverence.

[Question] A teacher?

[Answer] He was a reporter. A carpenter and a reporter. One of my classmates was Elyas Freij, today mayor of Bethlehem.

[Question] Were you a good student?

[Answer] I was. It was difficult to matriculate in those days. The tests were difficult. Only five out of my whole class passed. I was one of them.

After graduation we continued these activities, each in his own town. Thus I continued in Haifa, at first with students and other intellectuals, and in 1942 we started activities among workers.

[Question] How did you make a living?

[Answer] When I graduated from high school I could not continue with my studies because I could not afford to. I had to make a living and help the family out. I found work in a vocational school in Haifa, as the school's secretary. This was my first job. I stayed there until 1943, I think. Then I went to work for the Labor Office of the British mandate. I was safety supervisor and I also dealt in labor relations. This was part of my public activity.

[Question] What would you have studied had you had the choice?

[Answer] When I was in high school I wanted to become an engineer. Only it didn't work out.

[Question] And you became an activist.

[Answer] Yes. This was during the war. Many plants were established then in Haifa, especially by the British army, as part of the war effort. Many workers came to Haifa and lived and worked under very bad conditions. We helped them unionize. In November 1942 we helped establish what was called the Association of Arab Unions.

[Question] You were already a communist?

[Answer] Yes. I was associated with the party through Emil Tuma. He was older than me. In 1940 I was recruited. That is, I became a party member. The party was still in the underground.

[Question] What interested you then?

[Answer] As a young man I was interested in two things. The end of British rule and the struggle for a national independence and a state for the Palestinians. This held the interest and emotions of every youth of that time. This was the period when the national, anti-imperialist struggle in Palestine crested. The big strike of 1936, the armed struggle which followed it, the strikes, the demonstrations. Of course it had an influence, on me and on my friends. The other thing which attracted me and excited my emotions was social problems. The poverty, the inequality. Both things commanded all my attention, and the party, and what it stood for, was an answer to my thoughts and hopes.

[Question] Is it true that you were nationalistic Arabs?

[Answer] We were patriots. To date I think that this is a healthy emotion and I remember it proudly. We used to go out on demonstrations in the city streets, throw rocks at the British soldiers and policemen. We were part of the just struggle.

[Question] And Zionism?

[Answer] Zionism did not occupy our minds too much then. It was part of the British mandate. This is how we perceived it then. We looked upon the British mandate as an obstacle to an independent state which would fulfill our national aspirations.

[Question] Did you consider the communist party to be a national Arab party?

[Answer] As patriots, as people aspiring to free Palestine of the foreign rulers, we saw that the party supported us. Its by-laws required the elimination of the British mandate and the attainement of independence. At the same time we saw the social principles of the party--social justice, a different world of human relations, without exploitation.

[Question] What was the League?

[Answer] The League for National Liberation. This is what it was called. The period of 1942-1943 was one of internal strife within the Palestinian Communist Party. I was just at the beginning of my career then.

[Question] Is it true that Jews and Arabs could not find commonality in communism?

[Answer] On the contrary. Jews and Arabs sat together. But amongst themselves there were arguments on the direction the party should take, on how close it should follow the national stuggle in the country. There were accusations that the party had nationalistic Arab tendencies, and there were other accusations heard, that it had Zionist tendencies.

[Question] What exactly was the debate all about?

[Answer] These are debates which I would prefer not to get into at this point and it would be difficult to do so. But there were also debates on real issues, such as the strike by army workers. Should we or shouldn't we call a strike? Should we or shouldn't we respond to the Histadrut's call? These were issues that were on our minds. Then the breakup happened. The first breakup was between one group of Jews and Arabs and another group of Jews and Arabs. I was associated with some Jews. Some are no longer here, some are. When I first joined, I was accompanied by a Jewish member, a veteran member, Pnina Feinhouse. She is still alive.

[Question] Is it true that with the large breakup, in 1943, she left with Shmu'el Miqunis and other Jews?

[Answer] To begin with, yes. Later on, no. It is rather complicated. There were several stages and several central committees were established! This is a fact. Eventually we found ourselves separated, Arabs in one party, Jews in another. This is what happened at the end of 1943. We, the younger members, were then just beginning to find our way in the party. We were looking for something to do. We then came on the idea and established the League for National Liberation, which included mostly communist Arabs, though not all of them.

[Question] Where was the great Musa?

[Answer] He stayed at home.

[Question] After the breakup?

[Answer] Yes, after the breakup. I did not know him too well. I only met him once or twice. I cannot talk about him from personal acquaintance. I met him after 1967. He lived in Jericho. He has died since. He did not agree to cooperate with the League, in other words, to become a member. He watched from the outside, sympathetically, to see the young members' efforts, to see what they would do. Later on we became closer, but he was not one of us.

[Question] Was the League a new communist party?

[Answer] We saw it as a substitute, a framework in which we continued our communist activity after the breakup. The League did not represent itself as a party, or even a communist organization. It was a patriotic, national, democratic movement.

[Question] What did you want?

[Answer] The liberation of the country, the end to the British mandate, and the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state. The definition prevalent among members of the national movement was an Arab Palestinian state. We conducted a struggle on the assumption that this should be a state for all its residents.

[Question] Jews, too?

[Answer] We talked of a democratic state where Jews and Arabs would have equal rights.

[Question] The mufti and his people only agreed to accept as citizens those Jews who had arrived before the Balfour declaration.

[Answer] We argued with that school of thought. We defined it as nationalistic and anti-democratic and thus serving the enemies of independence, the British, and the Zionists.

[Question] Did you ever meet the mufti?

[Answer] No. We had reservations about his anti-democratic ways and his cooperation with the Nazis. We objected, we argued, we struggled. The basis for the struggle was an attempt to make the national Arab movement more democratic. We demanded the establishment of representative elected institutions of the Arab nation rather than the continuation of the rule of the traditional leadership.

[Question] In this sense you were an advanced group. Were you for the transfer of the Palestine problem to the United Nations?

[Answer] We demanded it. The Supreme Arab Committee and the mufti opposed it. They also refused to appear in fron of the UN investigating committee.

[Question] In the end you did not appear, though.

[Answer] We requested, to begin with, that all national movements appear. That all parties appear. We decided to appear. We prepared a memorandum but then we changed our minds.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] In hindsight, it was obviously a mistake. We changed our mind because of pressure. We have members who to date remind us of that internal struggle--to appear or not to appear.

[Question] Even Agudat Israel, the anti-Zionist party, eventually appeared before the committee.

[Answer] True. Agudat Israel. All Jewish parties appeared. Within the Arab nation, in its national movement, a boycott was declared and they did not appear. Not one group. Ours, too. Although we supported the transfer of the debate to the United Nations. There is a contradiction here. True. We recognize that this was an opporunistic retreat, surrender to street pressure, to the political surrounding.

[Question] When, actually, did you decide to support partition?

[Answer] The UN resolution came on 29 November 1947. Up to then we stuggled for independence, one state for all residents.

[Question] And against partition?

[Answer] Against. We failed. The UN resolution came on 29 November 1947, and it was in favor of partition. We had to take a stand.

[Question] Didn't Gromyko's first speeches in favor of partition change your mind?

[Answer] In Gromyko's first speeches he said that they, of course, preferred an Arab state, pardon me, a Palestinian state, independent, one state for both peoples. But if that would not work, then the family of nations ought to find another solution.

[Question] But later on Gromyko was unequivocably in favor of partition. How did that affect you?

[Answer] I cannot remember a particular day.

[Question] But nevertheless, it was a decisive occasion.

[Answer] True.

[Question] Didn't the USSR's position influence you in the least bit? After all, you are a communist.

[Answer] Our position was for independence. For an independent, Palestinian state for both its peoples. This is what we fought for. We tried to create the conditions which would lead to that. From the point of view of relations between the two peoples. We did not succeed. This was not our failure. The failure is that of the political powers which were in positions of leadership, for both peoples. To our chagrin the League for National Liberation had not yet attained a key position to enable us to speak for and lead this nation.

[Question] You did not feel that the USSR was abandoning you, was not supporting you?

[Answer] No. I only know, and I knew then, that the USSR was looking for a way for the country to achieve independence, liberation from British rule. This was the first thing. They did not succeed in the first way, the establishment of one state. Conditions in Palestine then were not conducive to that, so they then supported an imperfect solution, not the ideal one, but it was the only practical solution in those days, based on prevailing conditions, to end the British mandate and to achieve national independence for both peoples.

[Question] You did not find yourself torn between your national sentiments and your sentiments as a communist?

[Answer] I will not deny that these were difficult days but not in terms of conflict between national sentiments and communist sentiments because for me there is no such thing.

[Question] No?

[Answer] What is communism? Is this communism the enemy of national interests?

[Question] But this was...

[Answer] No.

[Question] And therefore this moment was critical in your life.

[Answer] True. Sometimes you make decisions which change direction, decisions which stem from newly formed situations. We saw here a new situation. Some said that that would be a greater calamity. This is what determined our decision to support the UN resolution. We could see the direction that continued objection of the Palestinian national movement to the UN resolution could take. We understood that it would not bring about a Palestinian state, but a catastrophe. This is what we wanted to avert. We chose the least of all evils.

[Question] Emil Tuma did not support you, true? There was a debate.

[Answer] Not true. There was a debate. Not between myself and him, but amongst us. In the end he supported the decision.

[Question] It is commonly believed that his opposition to the partition, against Moscow's stand, cost him his position in the party.

[Answer] In 1948, when we were reunited in MAQI, he was not elected to the central committee. But Emil was and remained one of the most prominent party members. He received his full position within the party. When we recall history, even in debates with various groups, we remember this chapter of our support of the UN partition resolution, as a reminder to all those who objected to it, and stuggled with us, and hurt the national movement and the yearning of the people for independence. This is the tragedy, which we had warned against, that accompanied the implementation of partition and proved that we were right all along.

[Question] Do you think that had the Arabs accepted partition war could have been avoided?

[Answer] There were great forces at work that even the national Palestinian movement could not overcome. The British and the Zionist leadership, the Arab League, as well as all the kings and princes and the Arab regimes that together opposed partition. Not because of their objection to the establishment of a Jewish state, but because of their objection to the establishment of an Arab state, so that Abdallah could annex his share and Faruq would save his throne in nationalistic demonstrations.

[Question] Do you believe that the two countries could manage to live peacefully, side by side, in the borders agreed upon?

[Answer] I think that had there been the proper Arab forces that had taken things into their own hands and withstood these pressures, it would have been possible. But they were too weak. Even the Zionist position ruled out and precluded any chance that the two countries coexist and cooperate.

[Question] It turns out that partition failed, the country is united, only now the Jews are a majority and the Arabs a minority. Sari Nusaybah said to KOTERET RASHIT recently that the time has come to annex the West Bank and give its citizens full rights, including the right to elect and be elected to the

Knesset members, just like Israeli Arabs.

[Answer] Is this what he said? He actually said that?

[Question] One state. This is what you said before you compromised on the lesser of two evils.

[Answer] What I want today is to put an end to the occupation and to bring about the realization of the right of the Arab people for independence, according to the 1947 UN resolution.

[Question] But you don't mean the 1947 borders?

[Answer] No. I only mean the principle.

[Question] You realize that things have changed.

[Answer] I do.

[Question] Therefore, why the 1967 borders and not those of 1985? No partition. Sari Nusaybah will tell you what you told the mufti: Let's struggle over something attainable.

[Answer] I am not a pessimist like Sari Nusaybah or Meyron Benvenisti. Any talk of one secular democratic country, in today's terms, means continued occupation and denial of the rights of the Arab people in other ways. It would be an country of apartheid and not a democratic country for both its peoples. This solution, under the auspices of occupation, is not a solution but the continued denial of the rights of the Arab people.

[Question] Are you that much of a pessimist that you do not believe in coexistence?

[Answer] Coexistence, yes. But what the proponents of this solution call coexistence is like the one between the horse and its rider. I am an optimist because I am a communist. If I were not an optimist, I would not be a communist.

[Question] If the Arabs receive the right to vote it would also be quite a compromise of the Zionist ideal.

[Answer] It legitimizes the continued occupation and draws attention away from the princile of Israel's withdrawal from territories that were conquered in 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state, side by side with Israel.

[Question] You fail to see a certain conceptual problem. You are being offered the ideal that guided you before the forced partition of the country. Now it is united.

[Answer] No. Things have changed. If you came and offered to returned everything to where it was before...But this is not what our aspirations are all about. Therefore the concept of one democratic, secular state, in today's terms, means the perpetuation of the occupation.

[Question] As a communist you sound like a rather conservative revolutionary, in refusing to adjust to changing conditions.

[Answer] What is a revolutionary position? A revolutionary position does not only mean to seek the new and foresake the old. Revolution means creating conditions which will enable social forward movement.

[Question] Israeli Arabs have made a lot of strides, socially.

[Answer] The difference is in historical conditions. We are willing to give up the 1947 borders and to agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state side by side with Israel. This is our contribution to a compromise, even if we continue to be a national minority in the State of Israel. There are many nations whose parts have been torn away and become minorities in neighboring countries. We do consider ourselves part of the Palestinian nation, but also part of Israel. There is no contradiction there.

[Question] The contradiction is only in as much as you are not willing to give West Bank Arabs the same rights that Israeli Arabs have.

[Answer] I don't want to annex the West Bank. It is sufficient that I have been annexed.

[Question] In what sense have you been annexed?

[Answer] In the sense of the 1947 borders. Not me personally. I am from Haifa. When I supported the partition resolution and the establishment of a Jewish state I knew I was going to be part of the State of Israel.

[Question] Had you been from Akko you would have been part of the Arab state. Where were you during the war?

[Answer] Here, in Haifa.

[Question] What do you remember?

[Answer] I remember the difficult days, the efforts, ours first of all, the communists', to prevent assassinations, to prevent bloodshed. We were willing to endanger ourselves, physically.

[Question] How?

[Answer] When there was an exchange of fire, we tried to find out what was going on, why each side was shooting. We used to go out, talk, try to form contacts. In particular we tried to influence what was called the Arab Committee. National committees were organized based on neighborhoods, especially urban ones, which tried to prevent clashes. We tried to prevent any provocations. Sometimes it caused clashes with people. Especially I would like to stress Emil Tuma's role in this. I, for example, lived on Yavne St, in my parents' home. This was a semi mixed neighborhood, on the border. I tried to convince them not to move and that there would not be any incidents although people were afraid and fired their guns. I and my family, I said, were not leaving. If there is no resident population, new facts are formed. This lasted until shells were fired and life in the house was no longer possible. This is when we left. In mid April 1948. Only one week before the Hagana took over Haifa.

[Question] There is this famous poster, which is always quoted as proof that the Haifa leadership asked everyone to remain. Have you seen it?

[Answer] No. To date I have not seen it.

[Question] It is published in any book by the Foreign Ministry.

[Answer] So I have heard. I still say I have not seen it. Perhaps there was such a poster. But actions in those days, in Deyr Yassin and even in Haifa--what do you think, people were not hurt? There were no killings of innocent bystanders? So a poster was printed. And publicized. It could be that there were those among the Jewish population who were worried that all of a sudden there wouldn't be any Arabs. I am sure that the official line and behavior on site determined--as few Arabs as possible in the Jewish state. This was true on all fronts. In the Galilee, in the south. You don't know? Expulsion. There are, of course, refugees who left because of fear, but mostly they left because of the pressure of events and deliberate actions by the new regime. We turned to the public in Haifa, we distributed posters requesting people not to leave. To stay in the city. We wrote on stencil and distributed by hand. It is difficult to change a trend. There were great forces at work and there were only few of us.

[Question] You and Emil Tuma did not leave the county?

[Answer] No.

[Question] You didn't move to Lebanon? We know you were here from the opening of the first Knesset, but Isar Har'el claims that at a certain stage you left the country and returned only with the help of IDF officers, MAPAM members.

[Answer] Isar Har'el does not know. Although he headed the secret service. This is the epitome of ignorance. He says: 'They ran away with the mufti, they left.' These are lies that are then repeated over the years. I was here. I went to Akko, to Nazareth. I went to the Galilee and also to Beirut. I was there for 10 days and then I came back. This was one of my many movements in those days. No one regarded the borders as closed. People came and went. There was no border, nor was there any border patrol. Emil Tuma went in order to try and convince refugees to go back. He was detained in Beirut, near the port, when he met arriving refugees. He remained there for 4 months in the Ba'labakk prison. He was released after strikes and public struggles and returned. It is also said that Emil Habibi ran away. This is another lie.

[Question] It is customary to asked the first Knesset members where they were and what they did on the day of the declaration of independence.

[Answer] I was in Haifa.

[Question] Anything in particular that you can remember?

[Answer] No.

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CSO: 4423/79

JORDAN

BRIEFS

AL-'AWDAH PRESENTS 1986 BUDGET--Finance Minister Hanna Odeh presented the draft 1986 budget to parliament on 4 December, following cabinet approval three days earlier. Total expenditure of JD 923 million ($2,560 million) is proposed -- a 14 percent rise on last year's JD 811 million ($2,070 million -- MEED 4:1:85, page 12). Revised 1985 expenditure came to JD 880 million ($2,246 million). A key allocation -- JD 243 million ($675 million) -- goes on defence and security, reflecting renewed Israeli aggression in the occupied West Bank and the need to bolster the armed forces. Defence took JD 206 million ($526 million) in the 1985 budget. The deficit is projected at JD 38 million ($106 million), more than double the 1985 draft, and is to be met partly through borrowing. Domestic revenues are budgeted at JD 400 million ($1,111 million). Development loans from Arab funds are expected to total JD 32 million ($89 million) -- well down on 1985's JD 86.6 million ($220 million). Arab aid is projected to remain at JD 183 million ($508 million); aid from the US is budgeted to total JD 50 million ($139 million) and from other sources JD 20 million ($55.5 million). [Text] [London MEED in English 7 Dec 85 p 21] /12851

CSO: 4400/91

LEBANON

BRIEFS

BEIRUT-SYRIA HIGHWAY--The government has asked the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) to revive a 1982 project to upgrade the highway from Beirut to the Syrian border at Masnaa. The 73 kilometres of road will be expanded to three lanes in each direction over six and a half years, according to plans drawn up by West Germany's DORSCH CONSULT. Total cost is estimated at about £Leb 6,000 million ($350 million). Banque du Liban (central bank) has been asked to provide a £Leb 1,000 million ($58 million) loan to finance the first phase of the project. However, Beirut observers say the work is unlikely to start for some time, because most of the proposed route passes through areas outside government control. The CDR recently invited Italian companies specialising in metal bridge construction and computer technology to submit prequalification bids with a view to carrying out development contracts. The work would be financed from the $130 million Italo-Lebanese protocol (MEED 1:6:85). [Text] [London MEED in English 7 Dec 85 p 29] /12851

FUEL SUBSIDIES SLASHED--Finance Minister Camille Chamoun has issued a decree abolishing state subsidies on petrol. The move follows Chamoun's warnings earlier in 1985 that his ministry would stop paying for fuel imports unless the cabinet approved the abolition of subsidies. The deficit on the ministry's independent account for fuel will exceed £Leb 10,000 million ($585 million) by the end of the year, Chamoun added (MEED 24:8:85). He described the subsidies as threatening Lebanon with bankruptcy and its currency with collapse. According to the decree, the price of a 20-litre tank of petrol was to go up on 30 November to £Leb 80 ($4.70) from £Leb 46 ($2.70). Subsidies on other oil products were also cut. [Text] [London MEED in English 7 Dec 85 p 29] /12851

CSO: 4400/91

SYRIA

BRIEFS

STRONG TIES WITH IRAN--A letter of understanding covering economic, trade and cultural issues was signed with Iran on 3 December at the end of a three-day visit by a team led by Prime Minister Abdel-Rauf al-Kasm. The most important result of the talks, held in Tehran, is understood to be a commitment from Iran to maintain deliveries of crude oil according to an agreement ratified by the Iranian majilis (parliament) in August (MEED 10:8:85). The agreement calls for Iran to supply 6 million tonnes of oil in the year ending May 1986. Of the total, 1 million tonnes is to be supplied free; the rest is being sold at a discount of $2.50 a barrel. Iran has supplied oil on similar terms since Damascus closed the pipeline from Iraq in April 1982 to help Tehran in the Gulf war. Diplomats in Tehran have been quoted as saying the 1 million-tonne gift has already been supplied, but that additional shipments were halted in September because of payments arrears and Iraqi attacks on Iran's Kharg island oil export terminal. The Tehran talks have also resulted in improved political relations. Before Al-Kasm's visit, Iranian newspapers carried several editorials criticising Syria's recent reconciliation with Jordan. [Text] [London MEED in English 7 Dec 85 p 33] /12851

HIGHWAY TO JORDAN--The first section of the new highway to the Jordanian border has been opened. The 44-kilometre stretch was completed by the local MOUNT HASSIOUN COMPANY, which is also working on the remaining 60-kilometre section. The road is being part financed by loans totalling KD 13 million ($45 million) from the Kuwait-based Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Total cost of the highway, which is due for completion in 1988, is estimated at $130 million (MEED 13:1:84). [Text] [London MEED in English 7 Dec 85 p 34] /12851

CSO: 4400/91

PROJECTS UNDERWAY TO PROVIDE CLEAN WATER

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 2 Dec 85 p 4

[Text] The Water Distribution Department from its inception until now has been able to establish three water distribution projects in the city of Kabul and six others in various provinces of the country and thereby it has prepared the ground for the use of potable water for more than 975,000 people of which 800,000 are inhabitants of the central province and 175,000 others are inhabitants of other provinces.

City of Kabul's Projects

- The water distribution project of the central region at present is limited to ten deep wells which are located in Ala'vadin, Nowabad, Dehmazang, Deh Buri, Bagrami district and two subterranean channels which are located in the Qargheh area with a 24-hour water distribution capacity of 33,000 cubic meters and after storing water in five reservoirs along 285 kilometers of network, by the pertinent zones according to the projected program, the water will be made available for use by the urban residents.

Water Distribution Project Along the Lugar River

The appropriate design and pertinent estimates of the aforementioned project was carried out in 1354 [21 March 1975 - 20 March 1976] and its construction began in 1357 [21 March 1978 - 20 March 1979] and was completed by the end of 1363 [21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985] and it is presently in operation. The utmost water distribution capacity of the first phase of this project for a 24-hour period was 35,000 cubic meters and at the present time seven of the ten deep wells of the first phase have been completed and become active with a water distribution capacity of about 23,000 cubic meters in 24-hour and the inhabitants of the Sheshdarak, Vazir Akbar-Khan regions and an older section of the towns of Shahr-e Now and Shahr-e Ara through a 91-kilometer network receive water.

At present, the water consumption capacity of the project in the above-stated areas is about 12,000 cubic meters in 24 hours and this figure is rising everyday with the laying of new pipes to residential homes and various institutions.

Afshar Water Distribution Project

The design work of this project and that of the water distribution project along the Lugar River was begun in 1352 [21 March 1973 - 20 March 1974] and its construction began in 1354 and was completed by the end of 1357 and put into operation. The utmost water distribution capacity of this project in the first phase was 15,552 cubic meters in 24-hour and its deep wells which are located in the Fazel Beyg area and until now about 15,000 cubic meters of water in a day, has been put at the disposal of the inhabitants of Kheyr-Khaneh through 110 kilometers of water transfer and distribution network.

Furthermore, it should be noted that in addition to the construction of 814 kilometers of basic water network, 28,778 water main faucets serving the residential homes and 1,268 water main faucets for the institutions have been installed. During the same period 1,370 public water taps and 8,721 water meters have been installed for water subscribers, moreover about 71,000 cubic meters of water in a 24-hour period have been produced for the central region and other provinces.

12719
CSO: 4665/27

AFGHANISTAN

PRIVATE SECTOR PLAYING IMPORTANT ROLE IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 11 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] With due regard to the structure and furtherance of our country's economy, in order to protect the interest of our toiling people, it seems appropriate that the private sector while being controlled, supported and guided by the government, as an important axis or fulcrum in the nation's economy, be given an opportunity to realize the lofty goals of the Sawr revolution toward a better growth and development.

To this end, after the victory of the Sawr revolution, extensive opportunities were created for fruitful activities of the merchants and those patriotic capitalists who put all their possessions into work to provide more benefits for the people and fulfill their essential needs. Similarly, to further encourage these capitalists to invest in small and medium industrial projects, proper and comprehensive attention has been paid to providing the necessary conditions and assistance to attract more merchants and capitalists to continue this worthy cause.

In the recent session of the Supreme Committee for Investment a total of 54 small and medium industrial projects with an initial capital of 510 million afghanis, pertaining to the private sector were considered, of which some have so far obtained their proper permit and others have started operation. The production of most of these projects consists of some essential needs of the people and some consumer items such as confectionery products, chocolate, sweaters, socks and stockings, writing paper, spare parts, footwear, plastic bags, distilled water, nitric acid, metal tools and aluminum utensils. In addition, the creation of such projects provides jobs for some of our countrymen and practically resolves part of our import issues. So far, 24 import unions of domestic merchants, with a total membership of 600 of our various trade merchants, have been formed, and furthermore all necessary facilities for the continuation of their activities have been provided by the government. For instance, in order to facilitate the travel of domestic merchants to other countries for the purpose of marketing research and execution of commercial transactions or their participation in the international expositions, extensive assistance has been provided by the government.

With proper participation of domestic merchants and capitalists in honor of the 20th anniversary of the PDPA, seven import joint-stock companies have become operational and the projected plan calls for three more such companies during the current year which will be operated by the private sector. Moreover, over the last three years through the chambers of commerce and industry several million dollars of credit were made available to the domestic merchants.

As a result of the government assistance, not only the domestic merchants and capitalists try to expand and develop their activities ever more so as to provide a better opportunity for our people, but through their investment they take part and assist in realizing the objectives of the party and the government and the ideals of the Sawr revolution. For instance, an increase in the projected import volume can very well substantiate the extensive participation of our merchants in relevant activities. As an example, the projected plan for the year 1363 [21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985] called for 257 million dollars of import while in actuality this figure reached 375 million dollars. Likewise, the projected plan for exported items by domestic merchants called for 322 million dollars in 1357 [21 March 1978 - 20 March 1979] while the figure rose to 728 million dollars in 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984]. All this indicate the ever-increasing participation of the domestic merchants in the growth of our national economy.

Accordingly, at a time when some broad and extensive transformations, beneficial to our society's toiling workers--which are unprecedented throughout our history--are being put into action practically, and with the execution of the victorious election of the people's representatives from various walks of life to the council of tribal assemblies, the patriotic merchants and capitalists of our country actively take part in the activities of the tribal assemblies and local organs of the government as equal members of the society with equal rights and privileges. They have come to realize that it is only through active participation in the election and creation of tribal assemblies that they can attain the most important ideals of the people and the revolutionary government of the DRA, namely securing peace and security and providing proper conditions for further growth and development.

12719
CSO: 4665/28

AFGHANISTAN

FARM COOPERATIVES NETWORK EXPANDING

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 9 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] From its inception until now the Farmers' Cooperative Union of the DRA has mobilized more than 55,000 farmers and other toiling individuals around the consumer and handicrafts cooperatives. This fact indicates the profundity of this progressive and humanitarian movement which aims at the realization of the lofty goals of the PDPA and the government of the DRA.

Moreover, during the same period more than 10,000 farmers who are members of the cooperatives, through the cooperative unions have been able to acquire the ability to read and write at the primary school level.

Furthermore, as a result of the propaganda and publicity efforts more than 10,000 farmers who are cooperative members, after proper and correct understanding of the truth about the Sawr revolution in addition to participating in team or group work projects, they've formed themselves into self-defense and defensive groups and while bearing arms they've defended the accomplishments of the Sawr revolution against the transgression of the imperialists and their henchmen quite decisively.

Since the Farmers' Cooperative Union of the DRA is a social and economic organization of the farmers and other toiling workers, in order to mobilize the farmers and other tradesmen and also for the purpose of improving the living conditions of the families of these toiling workers and insure stability, and cutting the hands of the price-gougers and speculators, the aforementioned organization is actively participating in the market place. Furthermore, the Farmers' Cooperative Union is also active in expanding the aspect of group work and improving the quality of products both in the handicrafts sectors and in the farming and stock-breeding sectors.

Moreover, for the purpose of presenting farm products and having a firm foothold in the market, the union has established farm products stores in the market place. Similarly, the union assists the farmers in enhancing their social and political understanding so much so that it has until now created 597 literacy courses in the central province and other provinces of the country. The Farmers' Cooperative makes an effort to further expand the cooperative movement in the villages and so far in the 24 provinces of the country as many provincial unions have been created.

After the victory of the Sawr revolution, particularly its new and evolutionary stage the development of handicrafts and other fine arts such as carpet and rug weaving and woodworking have become part of the major program of the Central Council of the Farmers' Cooperative Union of the DRA. From the time of creation of the Farmers' Cooperative Union of the DRA until now a total of 30 handicrafts cooperatives have been created in the central and other provinces of the country.

The total membership of these cooperatives reaches 1,236 with an initial capital of 38 million afghanis. According to the progressive policy of the popular party and the government, the cooperative unions have provided and continue to provide every necessary assistance toward a healthy growth of the cooperative movement, such as the development of handicrafts through cooperatives.

12719
CSO: 4665/27

COTTON GROWERS ASSISTED, ENCOURAGED TO INCREASE PRODUCTION

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 11 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] Cotton is one of the major industrial raw materials of our country and an increase in its production can play a great role in the growth of our national economy and answer many needs of our countrymen. Cotton or the "white gold" is grown in four major regions in our country such as the north eastern provinces. Annually, the Sapin Zar plant, which is a large production factory, purchases the products of the cotton growers of the north eastern region at reasonable prices and after proper processing, export it.

In the abovementioned plant cottonseeds are separated from the cotton through a "ginning" process and the seeds are crushed for cottonseed oil and cotton cake. Thereafter, the combed or carded cotton is baled. For instance, during the first half of the current year, the Sapin Zar plant exported 2,450 tons of combed cotton with a total value of 257,250 afghanis and from the first until the 15 of the seventh month of the current year it purchased 1,148 tons of cotton from the cotton growers.

At present, according to the revolutionary policy of the DRA, cotton growers receive various aid and assistance and they are encouraged to increase the level of their production. At this time, the production of the Sapin Zar plant is confined to cottonseed oil, soap, cotton cake and pelts which is not sufficient in itself and the level of cooperation with the farmers and cotton growers must expand further.

Seyyed Qader, a cotton grower from the village of Gul Tapah of Qonduz Province, regarding the existing problems of the cotton growers, said: A lack of sufficient water is one of the major problems for us and, if in the areas where such problems are prevalent some deep wells are dug, the farmers will have a better opportunity to offer more and better quality products to the people and the government. Furthermore, until some time ago, because of the long distances involved, the Sapin Zar plant deducted the relevant transfer charge from the value of cotton purchased from the growers while at present a different situation prevails which still has not solved the problem of the cotton growers. The existence of such conditions create circumstances where our farmers will not be able to transfer their products to the Sapin Zar factory and have an opportunity to sell their products on the free market. The prevalence of such a situation on the one hand cannot help increase Sapin Zar's production and on the other creates a situation where farmers' products are left in warehourses for long periods of time.

With due regard to the great significance of an increase in the production of cotton in strengthening the national economy and improving the living conditions of the cotton growers, due consideration to the elimination of the farmers' problems need to be given priority over ohter tasks.

12719
CSO: 4665/28

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

TROOP MOVEMENT REPORTED--Troop movements along the border strip with Afghanistan have attracted the attention of foreign diplomats in Tehran. The Voice of the Liberation of Iran correspondent, quoting a military attache of one foreign embassy in Tehran, says that the only complete mechanized brigade of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC], called Moslem ibn-'Aqil, from the Mohammad Rasul Allah army and two infantry battalions of the ground forces from the training unit at Torbat-e Heydariyeh have been moved to the border strip between Iran and Afghanistan. According to the report, the forerunners of the IRGC, last week, with the excuse of having military maneuvers in the Zabol-Bala, Hoveyni and Ahangaran areas engaged in armed clashes with the Afghan troops stationed in bases in that country. Iran-watchers are still unsure of the reason behind the recent military operations. One member of the IRGC has called this military action a "tactical move." [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of the Liberation of Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 10 Feb 86 GF] /12232

GOVERNMENT TROOPS KILLED--Muslim Afghan revolutionaries in Narmal region, in the north of Afghanistan, attacked troops of Karmal's regime killing 12 soldiers and capturing 1. According to the Central News Unit, a source close to Afghanistan Islamic resistance said: During other operations in the city of Balkh, the Muslim warriors destroyed several tanks of the invading forces and captured eight Kalashnikov submachineguns as booty. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 7 Feb 86 LD] /12232

CSO: 4640/197

MILITARY TRAINING TO BECOME COMPULSORY IN HIGH SCHOOL

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 Dec 85 p 17

[Text] Qazvin--KEYHAN correspondent - According to the executive article of conscription law, up to the level of defensive capability, military training will become part of other compulsory courses in the intermediate and high school.

Right now, the military training textbook for the second year of intermediate school is being printed. Likewise, during the coming months the selection of pertinent instructors from among present school teachers, who will go through special training, will begin.

Brother Akhavan, alternate director of the Islamic revolution Guards Corps' Mobilization of the Oppressed in a special interview with KEYHAN's correspondent during his trip to Qazvin while expressing the aforementioned statement, further emphasized: This training will be compulsory and it will continue with other required courses of study and students will be graded like any other courses.

Of course, the period and quality of military training have been designed with proper consideration to the age of the students which will begin from the second year of intermediate school and continue to the last year of high school. God willing, we hope to be able to expand this kind of military training at the level of universities included in the required curriculums.

As regards the education of mobilization students who are dispatched to the war fronts, he said: Today, we have formed special educational task forces for this purpose, so as to enable the students to continue their education either at the rear of the war fronts or upon their return from the battlefronts.

Regarding the operation of Khandaq military maneuvers throughout the country, he said that the purpose of such operations is the complete readiness against counterrevolutionaries and any probable attack of the enemy to our cities. The next stage of the maneuver will be city resistance operations in which the mobilization forces will defend the sensitive, strategic and higher areas surrounding the cities.

He went on to add: The next operation will be the military maneuvers of the Freedom of Qods which includes defense of strategic and sensitive points of the country.

In conclusion, he said: Until now, three million of the masses have passed military training and one million people have participated in various battlefronts. God willing, after the end of the war the mobilization forces will be used in the country's development and literacy activities.

12719
CSO: 4640/166

IRAN

INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON MINISTRY'S CONCERNS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 1 Jan 86 pp. 22, 2

[Interview with Minister of Intelligence Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammadi Reyshahri, date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We will take our first question from your own remarks at one of your interviews. You said that one of the characteristics of the Ministry of Intelligence is its non-interference in the affairs of the people, but this has also caused problems. The ministry has submitted a bill to the Majlis. First, what was the nature of these problems, and second, what is the status of the bill now before the Majlis, and, if possible, what is your explanation of the bill?

[Answer] I did not mean to say "non-inference in the affairs of the people" in the interview, because all affairs are affairs of the people. I was talking about affairs that pertain to the rights of the people, such as the arrest of individuals, punishment, detention, entering people's homes, or various controls which violate basic rights, and which the courts can do because of crimes individuals commit. In any case, in such affairs as this the Ministry of Intelligence has absolutely no right to intervene. Its responsibility is to give the judicial authorities the information it obtains. The judicial authorities order arrests, imposes various controls, or takes steps in connection with the crimes of defendants. The Ministry of Intelligence does not even have the right to slap an individual's ear, much less make arrests or engage in other affairs pertaining to rights. If something is to be done in these areas, it will be done by judicial authorities through court orders. The responsibility of the Ministry of Intelligence is purely intelligence. The problem we have had in this area is that in some cases (such as arrests) when the Ministry of Intelligence has information about some individual and wants to exert control over a suspect, a series of immediate steps need to be taken. We cannot wait until this person assassinates someone and then get a court order and arrest the terrorist; this is not reasonable. Of course in this connection the judicial authorities cooperate very well with the Ministry of Intelligence, but we think a law is needed to increase this closeness between the judicial authorities and the Ministry of Intelligence. A bill has been prepared and will soon be presented to the Majlis (which has not yet been presented). In this connection the law first of all will make the judicial powers and the Ministry of Intelligence closer, and it will remove a series of vague areas in the law establishing the Ministry of Intelligence. In general it will make this ministry more capable of dealing with the intelligence systems of world imperialism.

[Question] Our next question has to do with the responsibilities of the Ministry of Intelligence. The responsibilities in this ministry are actually very sensitive. Is the line between the counterrevolution and political opposition drawn by your own activities, or is there a system in place that supervises the activities of the Ministry of Intelligence in this area? There is the possibility that issues will arise at times where the Ministry of Intelligence would stray from these responsibilities, and the boundary between political and counterrevolutionary activities could become blurred.

[Answer] These matters are treated as any ministry wrongdoing. Like other ministries, if the Ministry of Intelligence commits a violation, the judicial authorities have the right to investigate, exercise control, and, in the event of a violation, to impose punishments.

[Question] To what extent does the Majlis have authority in this connection?

[Answer] If the Majlis wants to do something, it must also be through the judicial authorities.

[Question] In your view, what is the nature of the boundary between counterrevolutionary activities and political opposition? Is there a clear line?

[Answer] This boundary is clear. As long as the activity is at the level of speech, then it is political activity or political opposition, but then when they take up arms and try to overthrow the government, that is counterrevolutionary activity. We draw the line at practical arms-bearing activity; if someone wants to do this, or engage in espionage, this is the responsibility of the Ministry of Intelligence, but if someone only engages in political opposition, if for example he opposes some person or something the Islamic republic is doing, this is political opposition, and here the Ministry of Intelligence has no responsibility.

[Question] The next question pertains to the black economic bands (monopolists, middlemen, etc.), who deal devastating blows to the revolution. Does the Ministry of intelligence have a role in combatting them or not, and if it does, what is it?

[Answer] The Ministry of Information currently has no responsibility in this area. That is, the Ministry of Intelligence Law merely lists the responsibilities of confronting counterrevolutionary plots and espionage; it has no responsibility in this area, but the Majlis can assign responsibility in connection with this, as can the judicial authorities, that is with the disclosure of this type of crime. As I said in a previous interview, if there is agreement on the matter and if the resources of the Ministry of Intelligence are increased slightly and it can take measures in this regard, God willing, steps can be taken.

[Question] In the previous question you said the the Ministry of Intelligence works to deal with plots designed to overthrow the government of the Islamic republic. This effort to overthrow has various dimensions, political, cultural, etc. One dimension is the economic dimension. In any case, the enemies of the revolution participate in some way in this attempt to overthrow and the blows it strikes against the economy through the black economic bands. Don't you think that these economic plots are themselves a way of fighting the government of the Islamic republic?

[Answer] In cases where these things are done by insurgent mini-groups, and this may have happened in some instances, this is the responsibility of the Ministry of Intelligence. In cases where it is purely a matter of profiteering, however, and most of these crimes are committed because of the profit motive, it is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Intelligence. Of course it is not the case that there is no responsibility in this, but the law has not placed this within the purview of the Ministry of Intelligence. Suppose for example that narcotics affairs are the same way. Heroin and opium concerns have now acquired a security dimension. Legally, however, they are not associated with the Ministry of Intelligence, for it is not only the Ministry of Intelligence that takes steps in these areas. We also have Military Intelligence, which has to do with war issues. We also have police intelligence, and it is better suited for such matters.

[Question] The Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office recently issued a warning concerning the return of feudalists and capitalists clearly affiliated with the former regime. Is the return of such persons due to economic and personal interests? Won't they take steps to establish themselves and damage the government of the Islamic republic, when the opportunity arises?

[Answer] Both dimensions exist. Now, most of the crimes committed under the former regime may have been purely motivated by profit. In this regime, because of its Islamic essence, such crimes are committed to strike at the roots of the regime. The incidence of these crimes, whether economic, cultural, or political, is connected to confrontation of the roots of the regime. That is, in many cases, when we investigate the sources, we reach a place where the goals of the people who are doing these things are to strike at the roots of the regime. Since they cannot bear arms as the mini-groups do, they enter into these areas.

[Question] Our next question deals with one of the Ministry of Intelligence's legal enactments. When the regulations and conditions for the post of the Ministry of Intelligence were being studied in the Majlis, opponents and supporters talked a great deal about religious jurisprudence. A number of people believed that the Minister of Intelligence ought to have educational credentials for the exercise of religious juridicial authority. What is your view of this, in view of the importance and delicacy of intelligence work?

[Answer] In my view, in the establishment of the Ministry of Intelligence (I say establishment because there is a difference between an organization at its inception and an organized system which has been created and operates according to certain procedures), because of the complexity of this system, because of the various issues of religious law, because of the complexity of intelligence work, and in order to prevent the entry of political trends that would corrupt this system, the person to have responsibility for this organization must have three qualifications, which have also been foreseen by the Majlis. First, it must be a person with at least a significant amount of understanding of intelligence issues. A person who has not done intelligence work and takes on the responsibility for this system will be deceived often and may not be equal to the task. Another issue is the question of Islamic intelligence, of which he must have extensive knowledge in order to be able to resolve the various questions of religious law that will arise, and be aware of the surrounding religious law considerations, so that religiously unlawful issues will not arise in this system. In this connection the Majlis has required that whoever is to be minister must be competent to exercise religious authority. I do not think it will always be necessary for someone who wishes to be responsible, especially after the ministry is established and the system is on its feet, to have this authority, although it is much better if he does, because intelligence affairs are moving ahead day by day and sometimes hour by hour. The minister must have the ability to make inferences in order to be able to solve problems immediately. Likewise, with regard to the prevention of the infiltration of a particular political line, in the law governing the Ministry of Intelligence, as well as its workers, it states that it must not be part of a group or faction.

[Question] In your talks you have said that the minister and the employees of the Ministry of Intelligence must not be members of a political faction or group, and His Holiness the Imam also affirmed this. In view of the fact that each individual through the various ranks has political leanings of some kind, and this is natural, do such leanings exist openly in the Ministry of Intelligence or not?

[Answer] There is a difference between having leanings and being a member of a political faction or group. Ultimately, each person will probably accept some idea. I may say that a position is good, and another person may say a different position is good. This is a natural thing, an inseparable aspect of human nature. What is required in the Ministry of Intelligence is that employees not have official membership in organizations. Even if someone has official membership in an organization and resigns from that group, or from a party that is not opposed to the Islamic republic, as long as we know that he has really resigned and is not secretly continuing to do these things, there is no obstacle to his being in the Ministry of Intelligence. What I was talking about is official membership and commitment. The people in the Ministry of Intelligence are not members of any organization or group. In order to protect the ministry, we have gone beyond the limits of the law to prohibit even unofficial membership in any group or faction to those who want to be in this ministry. Membership in any group or organization, no matter how acceptable it may be in the eyes of the Islamic republic, is religiously unlawful for those in the Ministry of Intelligence, and the wages they receive are forbidden. We hope to be able to continue the situation as it is. Members of the Ministry of Intelligence are not members of any group or organization, although someone may remark in passing that some preference is correct or not correct. This is not a leaning towards a special group or organization; it is the natural right of every human being to say say that something identifying the truth is true or that something false is false. This is not the same thing as bias towards a group.

No Bias in Ministry of Intelligence

[Question] In any case, in the long term it is possible, in view of the sensitivity of this ministry, that special biases should form there, and, as the result of this situation, it there could be abuses against tendencies contrary to its own. What controls are there for this?

[Answer] Most of the work we do in this regard is aimed at building individuals. We have meetings, make plans, and provide various forms of training in order to train ministry employees to be as Islam would have them be. What Islam says is that no one is absolute; anyone can make a mistake. We therefore do not view any policy as absolute, and we must not say that a line, party, or group is correct no matter what it says. We try to train people to lean towards reality, with the courage to align themselves with whatever is true, and to recognize truth with truth, rather than to know it by its source in a group or person.

[Question] The next question deals with those who live outside the country. As you know, those in opposition to the government went abroad, but have now become involved in a political reaction. Some are living in undesirable circumstances. Does the Ministry of Intelligence know of these people, and have the necessary preparations been made for their return?

[Answer] Those who are living abroad and have been drawn into political reaction, and their numbers are not small, they being many of the people who were not optimistic about the government within themselves and fled, or went abroad naturally, are in pitiful circumstances. If the media could get a true picture of their lives abroad, I think it would be very useful. Many of them want to enter the country. In this regard a series of steps have been taken, and His Holiness Ayatollah al-Ozma Montazeri has stressed that plans must be made so that those who wish to return to the country can do so, provided they have not killed anyone or committed a punishable crime. A series of steps were also taken under the former government which are to be pursued so that those who can enter the country may come. Of course we have nothing to say about those who have committed murder; they may come, but it is their own affair.

[Question] The hypocrites outside the country recently published a list of those executed by the Islamic republic, along with their photographs and details. On the other hand, we know that the number of people assassinated by the hypocrites and counterrevolutionary groups is greater than the number of those executed. Has the Ministry of Intelligence yet taken any steps in this area?

[Answer] The statistics they have given are not correct, but just as they say we have not yet given all of the statistics on their crimes. They themselves claim that we have killed ten thousand people so far. Of course, as if to say that my quoted figure of 15,000 from a speech is wrong, they claim that from Shahrivar of last year [22 Aug – 23 Sep 1984] to Shahrivar of this year [22 Aug – 23 Sep 1985], they have killed 10,500 people. Of course small steps have been taken, that is several books have been published on their crimes and the people they have tragically killed with torture, and God willing, we have a plan to publish both at home and abroad a list of all the people they have assassinated, with photographs and details.

Arrest of Minority Organization Officials

[Question] Please explain the activities of the Ministry of Intelligence since its establishment, and, if necessary, explain the steps that have been taken recently.

[Answer] The activities of the Ministry of Intelligence since it was founded and all of the work that has been done cannot actually be stated. Overall, with the help of God and the people given to this newly-established ministry, we have been more active than we expected to be in combatting the plotters of East and West, and we have already discussed the activities of the ministry at their various stages when noteworthy. What has recently come to fruition is what is significant for the people, and that is the blow that has been dealt to the guerilla mini-group the Feda'iyan-e Khalq-e Aqaliat. Praise God, in this regard, with the basic steps that were taken, a great many leaders of this mini-group who were within the country have been arrested. Of course the leaders of this mini-group, like those of the other mini-groups of right and left, are in the embrace of the Iraqi regime in Iraq. However, those who were engaged in domestic spying and making preparations for terrorist activities, and who sometimes took action, have been arrested. The cells arrested from these mini-groups include cells from the secret strike komitehs, which were active in provoking strikes in factories and other places and which operated secretly, and cells known as "red cells," "combat sections," and the like. A total of more than 60,000 persons from these mini-groups were arrested, a great many of whom are cadres. Specific individuals we can name include Mohammad Mahmudi, alias Babak, 'Azizollah Feyzi, an official of the special task force, Qodratollah Arjmandi, alias Ahmad, Qasem 'Alavi, an official in domestic organizations, Karim Haj 'Ali Mohammadi, alias Hasan, an official of the northern komiteh, Davud Yusefi, alias Yusef'ali, an official of the Azarbaijan komiteh, Monizheh Talebi, alias Zohreh, an archive official who ate cyanide and died at the time of her arrest, and a number of others who were arrested. Materials confiscated by anonymous combatants for the Imam of the Age (May God Hasten His Joyful Advent) from this mini-group include nine G-3 rifles, five pistols of various kinds, great quantities of cartridges of various kinds, grenades, five automobiles, two motorcycles, three copy machines (photostencil, xerox, poly-copy), seven typewriters, a wireless computer terminal, a special computer for communications outside the country, as well as a large quantity of forging equipment, drugs, cyanide capsules, internal group documents, along with a complete archive of two factions. This is one of this ministry's recent successes. Here I must thank the nation of partisans of God, who have cooperated actively with the Ministry of Intelligence. A great many Ministry of Intelligence activities in the various provinces begin with people's reports. Here again I stress that telephone number 210 of the Intelligence Staff of the Ministry of Intelligence is for the people to use, and, as in the past, they can use this number to make contact with the Ministry of Intelligence and convey information about suspicious counterrevolutionary activities. They may also make contact in the provinces at special numbers available in each province. I must also thank the organizations who have cooperated with the Ministry of Intelligence in this regard and in its other activities, especially the revolutionary guards, who cooperate actively in all operations throughout the country, and I also thank the prosecutors and the Islamic revolutionary komitehs.

An important point I must mention is freed prisoners. A great many people who were in prison have recently been pardoned and released at various stages. I must also thank the large number of these prisoners for their effective cooperation with the Ministry of Intelligence in uncovering many plots.

Intelligence Leaks

Something I must also mention in conclusion has to do with the intelligence leaks which are being caused by the mini-groups. I mentioned this previously, and praise God it was effective. However, again some people were deceived, especially government organizations and sometimes the newspapers, in that they made contact with them and then told us that they had made a mistake and given precise intelligence to unknown persons whom they had thought were known. I must say that in order to prevent intelligence leaks caused by the mini-groups, when someone with a familiar name calls on the telephone (if people are not 100 percent sure of the voice of the person with whom they are speaking) they should take the telephone number and call the person back. If the person has no telephone number and makes apologies and excuses, then he is obviously from one of those "red" mini-groups. I must stress this matter again, and my request is that the newspapers (now that I am talking with you) invest to alert the people and organizations not to give out intelligence, or if they give it, to make it incorrect. It is also necessary to mention the aims of these intelligence leaks. One of the aims is to disrupt the administrative system, and to provide the intelligence obtained to the criminal Ba'thist regime (if the intelligence has to do with the war), or to give this intelligence to the world's spy organizations and obtain money to continue their despicable lives abroad, as well as to gain intelligence in order to do their own work and create a lack of confidence among the people and the officials.

9310
CSO: 4640/195

IRAN

OFFICIAL URGES COOPERATION BETWEEN BANKS, HOUSING MINISTRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 8 Dec 85 p 18

> [Text] In the continuation of the fourth explanatory and implemental gathering of directors general of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and the affiliated organizations, referring to the role of investments and activities in the housing sector in the whole economy of the country, the director general of the Central Bank emphasized the necessity of creating more cooperation between banks and the Ministry of Housing in granting funds and providing necessary facilities in the area of housing.

According to a report by the economic correspondent of KEYHAN, Dr Nurbakhsh said in another part of his speech:

Funds granted in the housing sector and their growth play an essential role in the activities of banks. On the other hand, one of the necessary tools in the housing sector is providing the facilities that are granted by the banks.

The director general of the Central Bank, considered the housing sector as one of the important indices in economic activities and an effective element in the general movement and activities of the national economy, said: The activities related to the housing sector can be considered a proper index in studying the recession or thriving of the national economy.

In connection with the activities and investments made in the housing sector in '63 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985], he said: The volume of investments by the private sector in the new buildings in the urban areas during '63 [1984-85] was 884 billion rials, which compared to '62 [21 March 1983-20 March 1984] grew by 6 percent. This growth in investments indicates a slower rate of growth compared to '61 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] and compared to the fixed prices of '53 [21 March 1974-20 March 1975], which is the base year, indicates a negative growth of 6.3 percent.

He added: In the area of providing housing, the construction of housing units in '63 [1984-85] compared to '62 [1983-84] decreased by about 29 percent and the volume of investments in this area also had a negative growth of 33 percent.

Dr Nurbakhsh said: Because the housing sector does not need foreign currency resources given the harsh economic conditions under which other sectors of the national economy face problems due to currency shortages, it can create a relative balance in the national economy. However, since in '63 [1984-85] other economic sectors of the country have also had a slower growth, the housing sector could not play its role in the whole of the economy.

The Second Day of the Gathering

The fourth explanatory and implemental gathering of the directors general of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development will also continue its work today. Engineer Hashemi, the deputy minister of housing and architecture of the Ministry of Housing, will speak on finding locations for urban development; Engineer Tafazzoli, the deputy for technical and implemental issues, will speak on technical and implemental issues; Engineer Kamrava, the deputy of housing affairs planning of the Ministry of Housing, will speak about Note 64 of the budget law and the plan for providing rural housing; and brother Farahani, the deputy for financial and administrative affairs, will speak on financial and administrative affairs. This gathering will be concluded late tomorrow.

10,000
CSO: 4640/181

IRAN

NEW NATIONWIDE CRITERIA FOR EMPLOYMENT ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Dec 85 pp 1,2

[Text] Economic Service--The Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary General of the National Administrative and Employment Organization gave an interview yesterday morning to news correspondents in which he discussed parts of the National Employment Law.

Razavi, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary General of the National Administrative and Employment Organization, said at the outset: The National Employment Law was approved by the Majlis in 1340 [21 Mar 1961 - 20 Mar 1962], in cooperation with foreign experts. It was therefore unable to resolve even the country's administrative problems. Fortunately, after the triumph of the Islamic revolution, committed experts were able to write a new law, which was presented finally to the Council of Ministers last week.

KEYHAN's economic correspondent reports that Engineer Razavi then discussed the sections of this new law.

He said: The new National Employment and Service Law has some new characteristics, including the fact that it replaces 40 different articles of law.

The most important section of the new law is the payment system, which provides comparable pay for comparable work. Another part of the law deals with the evaluation of all government employees. An evaluation form has been designed for each employee, on which will be recorded the quality of his work using evaluation criteria which have been established.

Therefore, henceforth pay will no longer be based purely on a worker's group and grade; up to 30 percent of his salary will depend on the quality of his work. For those who do outstanding work, incentives have been established such as the Islamic Republic Presentation Award, the Distinguished Service Award, the Service to the Oppressed Award, the Merit and Initiative Award, as well as cash and non-cash prizes, 30 days vacation in addition to the annual vacation, and trips to the holy shrines.

Conversely, those who lack the ability to fulfill the terms of their job description must gradually be removed from government service, for the offices are in reality a bulwark serving the people and solving their problems.

He said: Another part of the new law is devoted to the role of knowledge, experience, and the verification of credentials. From now on, credentials will not be the only criterion for employment. In addition to knowledge, experience and the quality of work will also be a basis for employment, and all administrative appointments will be based upon the above conditions.

Concerning employment justice, Engineer Razavi said: Another aspect of the new law is its adherence to employment justice, because in the Islamic republic all the people will have equal benefits and wages for government employment and all related regulations must be replaced. This law provides for administrative service examinations, and the National Administrative and Employment Organization has announced that after the law has been enacted it will be called the National Employment Organization. All applicants for government employment in various specialties and fields will be given examinations, and their abilities will be the criteria for their employment. Each ministry will announce its manpower needs to this organization, and the National Administrative and Employment Organization will refer people in view of the ranking of their abilities.

Another part of this law is concerned with manpower education and training. In view of the shortage of specialized personnel in government organizations and the small capacity of the universities, under the supervision of the National Employment Organization, the executive organizations must train their personnel at the levels of journeyman, senior journeyman, and research.

With regard to disability and retirement, he said: Under this law, all government workers who are in some way unable to work will receive disability benefits. Other employees may work beyond the 30-year limit if they wish; they may have the honor of service to the people and the Islamic republic for 40 years or even longer.

Engineer Razavi said: Arrangements and regulations have also been established in this law concerning seniority.

He then discussed the payment system. He said: This law also provides for minimums and maximums as well as minimum costs of living. In this way, in addition to observing the quantity and quality of work, provisions are made to coordinate salaries in comparable jobs. Concerning the welfare affairs of government workers such as health care, medical treatment, dependent allowances, housing, and cash and non-cash assistance, the necessary arrangements have been made. Of course the new law will not cover the armed forces, the judiciary, Ministry of Intelligence employees, sheriff's employees, and laborers. Each of these organizations will have its own regulations. If desired, judiciary and Majlis employees may be covered by this law.

Engineer Razavi discussed the discrimination that takes place between the workers in some ministries and government companies. He said: Under the new law, the Mongol guild system will be replaced by a system of employment qualification evaluation.

For example, the qualifications for the job of archivist in an office, a company, a bank, or any ministry will be the same, and the employee will given a ranking on a special roster according to his qualifications, and, in view of economic fluctuations and the labor market in the government and private organizations, benefits for employees will be such that they will be able to live with dignity, and government salaries will be eligible for annual raises, subject to the recommendation of the National Employment Organization, approval by the government, and Majlis enactment.

In conclusion, Engineer Razavi discussed the type of employment for government employees. He said:

Permanent employees in specialist fields will be officially employed. Temporary employees in specialist fields, or non-specialist permanent employees will be employed under contract. All others will be included under the Labor Law.

9310
CSO: 4640/165

IRAN

BOMBING, TERRORIST NETWORKS BROKEN UP

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Dec 85 p 19

[Interview with Director General of the Office of Information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan 'Ebad; interviewer, date and place not specified]

> [Text] Urmia, KEYHAN correspondent. Two terrorist teams which were on their way to Tehran to carry out large bombings were captured along with members of the spy and terrorist networks in six cities of Kurdistan and Western Azarbaijan.

The director general of the office of information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan revealed in a press and radio and television interview the events concerning the capture of the spy and terrorist gangs in the Kuridish areas, the present situation of the counterrevolutionary minigroups, and the discovery of bureaucratic corruption in two cities of Western Azarbaijan.

According to our correspondent from Urmia, the director general of information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan announced in the press, radio and television interview which took place in Urmia:

During the past two weeks, with the efforts and the round-the-clock perseverance of the anonymous soldiers, two terrorist teams that were on their way to Tehran to carry out terrorist acts were uncovered and their members were arrested. These groups, which are affiliated with the counterrevolutionary minigroups in the western part of the country, have engaged in terrorist acts in the country with the financial support of the regime of Iraq and so far another large group of terrorists who have been active in the country have been identified. The director general of information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan also announced: In the past few months, the terrorist organizations of the counterrevolutionaries in the area of Sa'indezh have suffered deadly blows and certain amounts of arms have also been discovered. In Bukan, 25 terrorists were captured, several organizational nuclei of the outlawed Democratic Party in Piranshahr, Saqqez and Miandoab have been dispersed and the terrorist elements in Sanandaj have also been arrested.

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He pointed out: During the same period, the anonymous soldiers of the Imam of the Age have succeeded in arresting a number of the spies of the Ba'thist regime of Iraq who were fed by that regime.

Also, two cases of bureaucratic corruption that would have resulted in political problems in Piranshahr and Miandoab were uncovered and the necessary steps were taken.

The Political Deadlock of the Minigroups

In another part of this interview, 'Ebad, the director general of information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan, referred to the compete domination of the Islamic forces over the actions of terrorist elements and the activities of the counterrevolutionary minigroups and said:

The increasing number of the repenters indicates the miserable situation of the counterrevolutionary minigroups. The people of the Kurdish areas no longer believe the slogan that the Islamic Republic is unstable and for this reason the number of repenters increases day by day. He considered the submission to the Islamic forces and the organizational officials in Bukan and Saqqez of 10 old members of the outlawed Kumeleh Party and the commanders and the organizational deputy chief of the Democratic Party in the western areas of the country receiving amnesty from the Islamic Republic to be due to the counterrevolutionary groups reaching a deadlock. In the same connection, he added:

The leaders of the Democratic minigroups facing this political deadlock have become refugees and every day become affiliated with another minigroup. Receiving bribes has reached its height in the outlawed Democratic Party and, in addition, the leaders of the Kumeleh unabashedly confess from a foreign radio that they receive all of their arms from Iraq and have submitted to being their functionaries. The director general of information of Kurdistan and Western Azarbaijan, referring to the vast propaganda of the minigroups among the people and stating that the Islamic Republic will kill the repenters of the minigroups, added:

The outlawed parties which have lost their popular base of support want to prevent the trend of increasing numbers of repenters. The seminar of the repenters of the minigroups of Western Azarbaijan which was held with more than 2,000 repenters in Urmia is of special importance and is considered a response to these baseless rumors. In this connection, he also announced that so far 8,300 members of the counterrevolutionary minigroups have returned to Islam.

The director general of information of Western Azarbaijan and Kurdistan considered the essential reaction of the Islamic Republic to the cultural, economic and social issues of Kurdistan to be a cause of the neutralization of the vast activities of the counterrevolutionary activities which had taken advantage of the ethnic, cultural and economic problems of the country as a propaganda tool.

He added: The Islamic Republic is also very clear in regards to the religious laws of the religious sects. The government, with the help of the representative of the imam in the region, by establishing large Islamic centers in the western part of the country has made efforts to revive the Sunni clerics. The publication of books and group journals is also permitted in this region.

10,000
CSO: 4640/180

IRAN

NEW DECISIONS ANNOUNCED ON IMPORTS, EXPORTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Dec 85 p 18

[Interview with Abolqasem Jamshidi, economic and commerce deputy of the Ministry of Industries, by media reporters; date and place not specified]

> [Text] Economic service. The currency policies of more than 7,000 production units, new tariffs on imported goods, the computerization of the currency share of industrial and production units, the creation of new packaging industries, permits for the import of raw materials and machinery from abroad through the central offices of industries in the provinces, the leasing of some of the production units to foreign countries and companies, the new classification of the imports of ready goods, new import exemptions, and the amount of the currency needs for mediate, consumer and investment goods were explained by Abolqasem Jamshidi, the economic and commerce deputy of the Ministry of Industries, in an interview with the mass media.

According to a report by the KEYHAN economic correspondent, in this interview the current policies of the Ministry of Industries regarding industrial investments, the procedure for absorbing export currency, and permission for the import of 79 items of goods from abroad were also announced.

Abolqasem Jamshidi, the economic and commerce deputy of the Ministry of Industries, first referred to the allocation of currency to the units affiliated with the Ministry of Industries and said:

According to the estimates made, in order to manage about 7,000 industrial units which receive currency from this ministry; to implement industrial projects; to provide for the currency needs of the owners of industries about which agreements in principle are reached; for reconstruction, development and replacement of machinery; and, finally, for proper and desirable operation of the existing industries in the country, we need nearly $5.6 billion in currency. This figure is determined through the separation of tariffs. The currency needs of the units are separated according to the tariffs in two forms: Over $50 million involve 22 tariff items which comprise 73 percent of the total of our needed currency, and another involves 78 items of goods of over $10 million, which include 90 percent of the total of our need figure.

In '63 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985], about $2,080 million in currency was allocated to the Ministry of Industries. As a result, the industries faced a currency shortage and mostly used the currency remaining from '62 [21 March 1983-20 March 1984], which totaled about $3.8 billion.

For '64 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986], about $2,005 million in currency has been allocated to this ministry and $500 million has been allocated to us for use as a loan, which is to be calculated and provided in 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987]. Thus, the total currency allocated to the Ministry of Industries for '64 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] reached $2,505 million, of which funds we have used about $2 billion to date.

According to an agreement with the committee on currency allocation and the Central Bank, it was decided that in late Azar [22 November-21 December] credit should be opened for all owners of industry, except for those who have credit currency (yuzans).

In this way, thus far, of the needed $5.6 billion in currency requested by the Ministry of Industries, about $2.5 billion, that is 50 percent of it, has been allocated.

Method of Currency Allocation

He then referred to the method of allocating currency in the Ministry of Industries and said: During the past few years, the method of allocating currency was based on the currency needed for the unit multiplied by the number of products in every unit or the production capacity as well as the priority coefficient of the produced goods in the society.

Hence, following a recent revision in this method, in addition to the allocation of currency according to tariffs, the Ministry of Industries controlled the currency of the production units along with the production capacity in numerous shifts and the needs of every unit are determined on the basis of these indices.

On the other hand, we took steps to prepare a plan to establish production priorities to provide our needed $5.6 billion. This plan will take care of itself. However, if a smaller amount of currency is decided upon for us, we will also divide the allocation of currency to the units into the following three categories: vital goods, necessary goods and, finally, other goods.

Explaining this categorization, he said:

Every one of the above three categories is further divided into other parts. For instance, in regards to vital goods, first priority will be given to essential goods, such as flour and shortening.

These are vital goods and will be given 100 percent of the currency. We will also add to them the dairy industries, baby food, human and livestock drugs, soap, pesticides, and so on.

The categorization concerning the production industries for necessary goods includes meat products such as sausages and cold cuts, canned foods, canned fruits, tobacco, thread and antifreeze.

The third category, which is given last priority, includes industries concerning other goods, such as cookies, candy and beverages.

Hence, we are trying to computerize the allocation of currency for '65 [1986-87] and thus to abandon arbitrary currency allocation. This plan will both expedite the work of the people and also reduce the number of decision-making individuals.

Establishment of Packaging Industries

Abolqasem Jamshidi then referred to the efforts of the Ministry of Industries in terms of world trade and said: In addition to our presence on international scenes, such as the exhibitions in Tehran, Leipzig and Dubai, we are pursuing a new plan on the basis of which we will grant permits for the establishment of packaging industries, because our main problem regarding the non-petroleum exports of our country is our failure to compete in terms of packaging.

In this area, also we are following up the allocation of $40 million in terms of the currency shares of the Office of the Prime Minister (in the form of revolving funds) to pay to the industry owners involved in exports.

He added: We strongly support the government export policy of giving export prizes in order to modify the price of goods on foreign markets and also to balance currency agreements on the basis of actual international prices and in order to obtain high quality, competitive products, we will allow the industry owners to import high quality raw materials.

On the other hand, we will grant establishment permits to individuals who are prepared to establish industrial units with export currency. Furthermore, those who engage in importing products from abroad with the export currency will be exempted from such things as the controls over the distribution of products by the Ministry of Commerce.

In regard to absorbing export currency, the economic and trade deputy of the Ministry of Industries said: During the [first] six months of '64 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986], we were able to absorb $76 million in export currency in the industries sector, which indicates a growth of about 50 percent compared to '63 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985].

New Export and Import Law

Then he referred to the programs of the economic and trade division of the Ministry of Industries in regards to devising the export regulation book law and the related bylaws, which were ratified by the Cabinet last week, and said: I hope this law will be approved by the Majlis and announced to the concerned unit for implementation.

He added: Another plan in this sector is to devise the import and export regulations for '64 and '65, with the ratification of which the situation regarding every tariff under the control of the Ministry of Industries will be determined. On the basis of goods that are manufactured in the country, we will not allow the imports of similar items. This system will also be computerized soon and the customs and banks and other ministries will know the situation regarding every kind of tariff by the Ministry of Industries. This will also reduce the number of persons who need to come to the Ministry, which, according to the statistics, number about 1,700 persons daily.

Permission to Industrial Units

Abolqasem Jamshidi then referred to the new plan of the Ministry in regards to making use of "payments from production funds" and added: Our new plan is such that in some industries which do have the capacities, we will sign agreements with other countries and world companies to give raw materials to these industries. We will then place their products at the disposal of that same country or company and from the funds obtained from the export of those products, we will procure the currency expenditures of these industries.

I should add that the plan is to lease our industries to other countries, which is, for example, precisely what the European Common Market is doing.

(KEYHAN: It should be mentioned that some time ago an Austrian economic delegation welcomed this plan.)

He added: Another plan of the Ministry of Industries concerns procuring goods that can be manufactured in the domestic units, but the domestic organization intends to import them from abroad. Hence, the export currency will be collected from these organizations and the needed goods will be delivered to them. For instance, the Ministry of the Interior intended to import nylon. We collected the currency for it and agreed to produce and deliver the nylon needed by this ministry domestically.

Encouraging Investments

The economic and trade deputy of the Ministry of Industries also said: In order to encourage investments in industries and also to make the domestic products competitive with similar foreign products in terms of price as well as to create incentives for investments in the industrial sector, we have anticipated two kinds of exemptions for the two sectors of raw materials and machinery.

Exemptions in the raw materials sector have been determined in accordance with the division tariffs in the exports and imports regulation books and also the regulations that I referred to earlier. The decision makers regarding these exemptions will for the most part be the specialized deputies of the Ministry of Industries.

In the area of exemptions for machinery as well, given the positive reaction of the owners of industries to the development of national industries, we have divided this sector into three groups.

In the first group, these exemptions involve the creation of essential industries such as those for polyacrylate, in other words, industries that show the missing links of the industries and manufacture raw materials for the later industries.

The second part concerns industries created in the deprived areas which will result in the development of all industries in the country.

He added: We intend from next year to allocate a percentage of our currency share (between 5 and 10 percent) to investments and in this regard we have also reached an agreement with some of the Majlis representatives.

If we are not active in this area, gradually we might lose employment and then fall behind and become a stranger to world technology. Therefore, it is necessary to replace the previous industries with the new ones.

In conclusion, he categorized the currency needed in 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] for the private and government industrial sectors and said:

In '65 [1986-87], in the private sector, for immediate and non-construction consumer goods we need $2,482 billion and for investment goods $1,109 billion, a total of $3,591 billion.

In the same year, for the industries of the government and nationalized industries as well, in the area of mediate and non-construction consumer goods, we need about $2,065 billion, and for investment goods two figures, $1,427 billion and $638 million, in currency needs have been anticipated.

Industrial Services and Provisions

In the continuation of this interview, Seyyed Javad Hoseyni, the supervisor of the office of industrial services survey and the chairman of the committee on vehicle distribution of the Ministry of Industries explained the operations of this office regarding industrial services and provisions.

He said: In late '63 [1984-85] the import of some items according to currency share was stopped and as a result a committee on mass purchases was formed in the Ministry of Industries with the office of the economic and trade deputy taking over the import of these items directly from the currency share of the ministry. So far, currency has been allocated for the import of 150,000 tons of iron ware and about 10,000 cubic meters of lumber.

In the area of vehicle distribution among the industrial units of the private sector and the government sector, he said:

This year, the vehicle needs of the government sector units have been fully provided. In accordance with the regulations of the Ministry, 3,250 vehicles, such as small vans, trucks and trailers, have been given to the private sector units. Also, 50 units of various kinds of heavy machinery have been distributed among the government and private units.

10,000
CSO: 4640/182

LEBANESE ISLAMIC UNIFICATION LEADER COMMENTS ON ISSUES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 14 Dec 85 p 22

[Interview with Sheikh Sa'id Sha'ban, date and place not specified]

[Text] KEYHAN: The Arab and Muslim World have recently seen armed struggle in the city of Tripoli. What were the roots and aims of this struggle?

[Answer] The recent fighting in Tripoli was a manifestation of a long-standing struggle between the Truth and the Vain. Tripoli is a city which stands out from other cities with its Islamic characteristics. Political parties and their supporters in Tripoli were seen as warring against Islam and Muslims and constantly working for the interests of Israel. It was established that they were not interested in fighting against Israel; on the contrary, they want war with Muslims, and undoubtedly the imperialists fear only Islam, because it is Islam which pulls at their roots and threatens their interests. At the dawn of Islam the Most Respected Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) was constantly fighting political parties. In their attempts to stop the growing Islamic movement, they were constantly warring with the Prophet, but these wars only added to the firmness and steadfastness of the Muslims: in the same way the Islamic movement in Tripoli has firmly and bravely prevented the military entry of party paramilitary forces as well as military forces. They were able to enter the city only by agreeing to the preservation of Islam, the continuation of the Islamic movement, and not to persecute and detain Muslims.

We acted on the articles of the Damascus agreement, but it is evident that aggression continues in various forms. Even now as we are in Iran we have heard that they have established many restrictions for urban Muslims. In this regard, unfortunately I must say that the other side, which signed an agreement, has not acted on its commitments. The government, even more than other organizations, should adhere to the commitments it makes in agreements. We hope that God will grant victory to the Muslims.

KEYHAN: Why did the Tripoli war happen precisely at this time?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the political parties are following the orders of their masters, and they operate as a reserve army for imperialism.

Imperialism has witnessed the growth of the Islamic movement and its expansion among the Muslim masses of Tripoli, Beirut, Ba'albek, and other places. Therefore, in order to strike at the Islamic movement in order to prevent the expansion of their activities and their domination in the country, they went into action. I think that Muslims, and especially officials in the Islamic movement, must stand against these blows in a unified rank. Perhaps after Tripoli it will be the turn of the Partisans of God, and there will be slaughter among their ranks to the same degree there was in Tripoli. Circumstances, however, do not allow the aggressors to act on their plan. When the necessary opportunity arises, however, they will be unrestrained with their aggression. A united Islamic front must therefore be established, which can make appropriate decisions against the purge operations which will be carried out by the political parties, and stand up against them.

The Damascus Agreement

KEYHAN: Previously there was an agreement between the Islamic movement and other parties in Tripoli. What were the articles of the agreement, and why wasn't it successful?

[Answer] It was actually the other side who failed to implement and act on the articles of the agreement. In this agreement stress was laid on the return of refugees to their homes, the release of detained persons, and compensation for those who have suffered damages. These things have not been implemented. Moreover, suspicious elements have committed murder and kidnapping, discrediting the agreement. This agreement has thus failed to bring about security. Just as the Lebanese army was unable to fulfill its responsibility for security under the first agreement, all of these problems have also caused the recent outbreak of fighting. If intentions and aims had been good and untainted, we could have avoided war. It is evident, however, that these provocations are most laughable compared with those of the Beirut war.

In Beirut, those who kill people are encouraged, and those who engage themselves daily in destroying homes and expanding clan relations are praised. Therefore, the preliminary moves and aggression in Tripoli cannot be the provocation for the Tripoli war, because, just as these preliminary moves were to have been prevented, this should have been done more quickly in Beirut. Therefore, why don't the political parties disarm who live in Beirut and constantly violate security there, and who also have warm relations with the regional authorities responsible for security in Lebanon? Why are they constantly being given weapons and equipment? Here the instigation for the Tripoli fighting becomes clear. Just as I said, the primary provocation for this fighting is the creation of obstacles to the growing Islamic movement, which has frightened all the political parties and the powers that support them.

The Arab Democratic Party

KEYHAN: 'Ali 'Eyd, Chief of the Arab Democratic Party, in an interview with AL-SHARA' magazine, has claimed that restrictions and pressure have been applied to the 'Alawites in Tripoli. What is your answer to this?

[Answer] In reality, the Arab Democratic Party of Jabal Mohsen has always perpetrated aggression against the Muslims of Tripoli. If we want to discuss the origins of his comments, why has he not discussed the aggression committed by the party under his leadership against the Muslims? Why has he not discussed the killings of Muslims committed by members of his party? Much slaughter has accompanied the aggression of the Democratic Party. We think that the aggression the Arab Democratic Party is attributing to the Islamic movement is actually being committed by urban insurgent elements, and they are attributing it to the Islamic movement. Everyone knows that we condemn every kind of insurgent movement from every party and movement; the unity movement has always tried to create a strong peace with the Arab Democratic Party and Jabal Mohsen, but repeated aggression has prevented this. If we review the history of the struggle with the Arab Democratic Party of Tripoli, according to reports from the security committee that was created after the spread of insecurity in Tripoli, in which membership was held by the Unity Movement, the Arab Democratic Party, and representatives from the Lebanese Army and the Syrian Intelligence Service, it will show that 90 percent of the aggression in the city originated with the Arab Democratic Party.

These figures and numbers have already been recorded in reports from the security committee.

Tripoli Fighting Details

KEYHAN: Can you give details on the recent fighting in Tripoli?

[Answer] The city of Tripoli was previously besieged by paramilitary forces and the army and surrounded by artillery and tanks.

About 20,000 paramilitary forces and army soldiers took Tripoli like a piece of fruit. They contacted us about disarming, and threatened to open fire if we did not do so. We made great efforts to make them understand that surrendering weapons would be followed by a slaughter in the city. Moreover, all the parties, such as the Phalangists, the Arab Democratic Party, the Socialists, and the Amal, have weapons.

Why are we the only ones who have to turn over our weapons? This will mean another massacre like the ones at Sabra and Shatilla. We decided to surrender only medium and heavy weapons, and to retain our light weapons. They rejected this and insisted on entering all sectors and quarters of the city. We told them that suspicious elements would attack the Syrian army and they would use this as a pretext to attack the city, but they rejected all of this and decided they would either confiscate our weapons or attack the city. We said that every person, whether believer or infidel, must defend himself. It is the right of every person to live freely. Therefore, if we surrender our weapons, why do your weapons remain with you?

This is thus our right under our own Islamic law, which tells us we are obligated to prepare ourselves and defend ourselves ("Kill for God's sake those who kill you, and return to them what you have tasted with force." [quoting the Koran]).

Therefore, as long as Israel is still on Lebanese soil, and as long as the Lebanese crisis continues, they have no right to take weapons away from Muslims. In any case we did not agree to surrender our light arms and the fighting began. Artillery bombardments continued for two weeks, and then a huge invasion began. Cannons surrounding the city continued to fire on the various alleys and neighborhoods trying to destroy them.

The political parties swarmed in to take over the city and attack Muslims, but the religious fighters defended their lives, their religion, and their honor, resisting bravely and preventing the political parties from entering the city. Moreover, they prevented the army from entering the city which was behind the political parties. As the result of this fighting, a large number of political party paramilitary forces were killed without achieving the slightest result. Sixty members of the Islamic movement were martyred, and an estimated 1,500 to 2,000 of the political party forces were killed.

After that, the Damascus agreement came to hand in the thick of the fighting, and at the end of the fighting it was implemented, on the basis that the big war must be fought against the Israeli enemy; the Muslims must not be diverted by wars and disturbances on the fringes. It must be said, however, that there is no provocation for war with Israel. Those who are fighting in Lebanon are advocates of partitioning in Lebanon. Today the idea of partitioning is very widespread in Lebanon, because Lebanese unity has become very difficult under current circumstances, and the Lebanese clans consider clashes with others a difficult matter. The people are fed up, especially since there is new aggression every day, there is a new bombing every day, and wars in Lebanon are fought savagely.

KEYHAN: What is the main reason for the existing differences in the Islamic unity movement?

[Answer] We have undoubtedly suffered from various differences. These differences have made the Islamic movement weak and incapable and diminished the stature and prestige of Muslims. Despite these differences, however, when Tripoli was under attack they were united. the results of the fighting were also positive, because everyone understood the difference between the mistakes of the Islamic Movement and the savage invasion of Tripoli by the political parties.

KEYHAN: How do you assess the relations between the Unity Movement and the Partisans of God of Lebanon?

[Answer] We Partisans of God consider the Islamic Movement our comrades, because the basis of their movement is like the basis for our movement, and that consists of establishing the rule of God over human society and not submitting to the enemies of Islam.

KEYHAN: How do you assess the Palestinian presence in Lebanon?

[Answer] We consider the Palestinian nation a Muslim nation which has suffered, and their leadership has left the the Palestinian nation divided, and the Arab regimes have played a part in this.

Every Arab regime has an organization in the Palestine Liberation Organization, and whenever the Arab regimes are in conflict, these organizations attack each other in the Palestinian refugee camps. The Palestinian nation has thus become the victim of hostilities, differences of opinion, crimes, and plots.

Reason for Visiting Iran

KEYHAN: What is your reason for visiting Iran and what have been the results of your visit so far?

[Answer] In Iran, there is an Islamic revolution, which studies the affairs of the Muslims of the world. Iran is thus seen as an authority for all Muslims of the world. With this perspective we have come to Iran to consult on ways to cooperate to achieve rights and help the Islamic movements in the world of Islam and Lebanon.

In reality the Islamic movements cannot stand alone, and since the Muslims must help one another, stand together, and encourage each other, Iran did not forget us in the thick of the fighting in Lebanon; it sent delegations to Tripoli in the midst of the war and made direct contact with the people in control. In general it was as a result of these very efforts that the fighting finally ended.

Thus after the signing of the new agreement, we must consult and exchange views. We hope to do this more quickly in order to put this phase behind us and understand our own mistakes in order that we may stand in united ranks in the future, because if at the beginning of the fighting in Tripoli the Muslims had taken a united position, we would not have seen continuous attacks on

Tripoli. Of course the Muslim people would have protested and staged protest demonstrations; perhaps the abduction of the Soviet diplomats in Lebanon was an expression of popular protest. For this reason, harmony among Muslim brothers leads to important gains with regard to Islamic movements and intensifies the process of achieving their goals.

Relations between Syria and Jordan

KEYHAN: What is your view of the closeness between Syria and Jordan?

[Answer] If its aim is to bring King Hussein back from the Jewish camp, it is good; if its aim is to wallow in the lap of King Hussein, it is clearly detrimental.

KEYHAN: What is your view of 'Arafat's movement closer to talks with Israel?

[Answer] We believe that any kind of peace talks with Israel are useless, because Israel has given no concessions to Palestine or the Arabs. The Zionists have made expansion a practice, and they fear limitations and reduction of their expansion. Those who think that Israel will return the West Bank of the Jordan River to the Palestinians are dreaming. For this reason, even the International Conference on Palestine will be able to achieve nothing other than an acknowledgement of the presence of the Zionist regime on Palestinian soil. Of course this will be an international and Arab acknowledgement. The Islamic conference is trying to get the Zionist entity officially recognized and presented to the world as a country with sovereignty over the land and water of Palestine, and a country with an independent government. This is the most dangerous plot, and those who are calling for the formation of the international conference are committing a very great crime.

We do not consider it possible to free Palestine except through all-out comprehensive military warfare, a war like the one which took place in southern Lebanon.

The method used by the Islamic resistance in southern Lebanon against the Israeli occupiers must be used at the fronts in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, and it must be established as a model. This is the only method that can drive out the occupiers and free the land.

Muslim Unity

KEYHAN: What is your advice to those who are fanning the flames of discord between the Shi'ites and the Sunnis?

[Answer] My advice to those who have made their clans a new idol to replace the old idols of the pre-Islamic age is that their efforts should be made to satisfy God, not their clans.

The Muslims of the dawn of Islam were a united nation, and those who are making every effort to portray the Islamic revolution Shi'ite, or who are attacking and discrediting for the same purpose are actually preparing their nation to accept the imperialists again.

Our relations with all Muslims must arise from the human responsibility to God. It is not right for us to be at each other's throats in struggles between clans and forget America and the domineering foreign powers. Our relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran springs from this very idea. In this regard the Muslim clergy have a greater responsibility than the Muslim people. I hope all the Muslim clergy realize that the Islamic revolution is the hope of the Muslims, and that the success of the Muslims of the world is tied to the success of the Islamic revolution of Iran.

Moreover, the success of every revolution in the Muslim countries is also indebted to the success and triumph of the Islamic revolution of Iran. If the enemy can defeat this revolution by taking advantage of sacred places of refuge, Muslims will not be able to lift their heads for many years.

KEYHAN: What is your message to the Muslim Nation of Iran?

[Answer] Our hope is that the Muslim nation of Iran will support its revolution with all its power. We hope the clergy will stand in a unified rank and support this revolution, because many days and much time must pass before we will see such a revolution. We hope that this revolution will become a revolution for all Muslims and not be confined to Iranian Muslims. In its international encounters, this revolution has gained many supporters. There are also jealous and narrow-minded people in the world who are trying to portray this revolution as Shi'ite and Persian, and this is where committed people in Iran and outside Iran must stand in a single rank and support this revolution. Muslims must try to create similar revolutions in their own countries in order to align with the Islamic revolution of Iran. Everyone must prevent the perpetuation of Iraq's aggression against the Islamic revolution.

9310
CSO: 4640/183

TEHRAN RADIO CITES MAJLIS SPEAKER'S FRIDAY SERMONS

LD211408 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 21 Feb 86

[Text] Our Muslim compatriots throughout the country observed the politico-religious Friday prayers ceremonies today. Tehran's inhabitants, too, by their presence at Tehran University and on the surrounding thoroughfares observed the Friday prayers under the IMAMATE of Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani today.

The Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council, referring to the remarkable victories scored by Islam's combatants during the Val Fajr-8 operations, and to the defeat of the enemy's vast intelligence complex, including the U.S. spy satellites, Saudi AWAC's, and the mercenaries of world arrogance on their espionage and intelligence missions in the course of Val Fajr-8 operations, as one of the important achievements of these operations, he declared:

The Islamic combatants' success in hoodwinking the espionage eyes of the intelligence machine of world arrogance constitutes one of [the] glories of Islam's forces which has inflicted despondency on world arrogance.

Referring to the Val Fajr-8 operations and the crossing of Arvand Rud by Islam's combatants--constituting one of the most difficult military offensive operations in the world--the Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council said: The crossing of Arvand Rud by by Islam's combatants took place under circumstances in which the enemy had created a defensive dike on the bank of the river for a distance of 500 km, from al-Faw to al-Amarah, equipped with an assortment of harassing obstacles, including complex (?Iraqi) radar. Islam's combatants breached that defensive dike to a distance of 25 km in a matter of a few minutes and, by crossing all the obstacles, surprised the enemy behind his trenches. This crossing of Iraq's defensive line--a line much more formidable than the Maginot Line or the Bar Lev Line--by Islam's combatants was considered so unthinkable by our enemies that for 3 days the United States was not prepared to admit that its spy satellites had failed in their mission!

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, expounding on the circumstances of the time and place of the Val Fajr-8 operations, said: The time and place of the attack were extremely well coordinated, and we wanted to show our power vis-a-vis the onslaughts carried out by our enemies against the Islamic Republic of Iran in the political, economic and military areas.

The problem of the plot for reducing the price of oil, the deceitful collaboration between certain OPEC members and world arrogance and the enemy's wicked deeds in the Persian Gulf, too, were among the factors involved in this show of power.

The problem of the Arvand Rud constituted our fundamental difference with the Iraqi regime and became the enemy's pretext for beginning the war. Now we have crushed the enemy in this very region and given our riposte to the attack on Khark Island in Arvand Rud, so much so that by concluding these operations the Iraqi Navy would be completely cut off from the Persian Gulf and the sea. From the standpoint of maritime links with the outside world Iraq is landlocked and its link with the sea is totally cut off.

Referring to the repeated warnings given by Iranian officials to Saddam's backers Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani called on the Persian Gulf states to stop their support for Saddam so that Iran with the cooperation of the Persian Gulf countries could safeguard regional security and other interests.

Referring to the enemy's heavy losses during the Val Fajr-8 operations, including the downing of 50 Iraqi aircraft, the Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council emphasized: The Iraqi Air Force which constituted the enemy's fulcrum has sustained hard blows and the Val Fajr-8 operational theater has become the Charnel House of Iraqi forces and Iraq's future will be clarified in this very region.

In his first Friday prayers sermon in Tehran today Hajjat ol-Eslam val-Moselmin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, referring to the victories marking the 10 days of dawn through the million strong presence by the people on the arenas and the formation of the Jeruslaem reserve divisions beyond all expectations, said: A number of people imagined that Sanadaj was a bastion of counterrevolution, but that region has so straightened itself with Islam that it is a cause for astonishment. These problems and the extremely high figures on donations by the people are the prime factors in strengthening the fronts.

Speaking of the barbarous crimes of the Iraqi regime in attacking the passenger aircraft, causing the martyrdom in attacking the passenger aircraft, causing the martyrdom of the Imam's representative to the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, eight deputies to the Islamic Consultative Assembly and a number of judges and clergy, he said: The Baghdad regime, even at a time when it needs to feign false victimization, is resorting to inhuman crimes against civilians under the pressures it is undergoing!

The Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council said: The question of Iraq's aggression against Iran is currently being raised at the Security Council, and this council is currently going through a historic moment, since on the one hand it is now facing the public opinion of the nations while on the other it is confronted by the Satans. So far the Security Council has said nothing against the barbarous and inhuman deeds of the Iraqi regime and so far we have not seen anything good coming from this council and the UN. However, it is essential that this council should spare a thought for itself from the historic and humanitarian standpoints; but should it react unjustly to this problem then we, too, shall know our duty!

Concluding his first sermon Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: Our dear nation and the freedom-loving nations shall continue along the path which they have chosen and such crimes will only serve to make their determination even stronger!

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IRAN

KHOMEYNI EXPORTING 'HOLY WAR'

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 11 Jan 86

[Article by Jacques Bonomo: "Here is How Khomeyni Exports His Holy War"]

[Text] Incongruous, the whistle blow pierces the blue dawn revealing slowly the splendor of the Manzarieh park in the north of Tehran. Camps rendered invisible by trees erupt by the thousands, young people, very young people, gather together in squads facing the already golden panorama of the Towchal range. One would imagine it to be a summer camp or an outdoor school. However, what these adolescents--these children--have come to learn here is to die while killing.

They number more than a thousand originating from Arab and Islamic countries. They have gathered in this camp 5,000 young Iranians, the oldest of whom is not 17. And, all together, before going to the morning prayer, they recite ritually, with a fixed eye the strange "dawn invocation," the words of which literally are: "Greetings to you Adam, quintessence of God; greetings to you Noah, prophet of God; greetings to you Abraham, friend of God; greetings to you Moses, interlocutor of God; greetings to you Mohammad, messenger of God; greetings to you Khomeyni, spirit of God."

School Camp for Children, Assassins

It was Khomeyni himself who selected this region of Niavaran with beautiful landscapes to set up this school camp for children, assassins. And, during the past 5 years, the Ayatollah has come several times in order to meet the group which he has charged with the export of his revolution. A sign on the front of an old building, hidden in a corner of Manzarieh park, bears the word "office." The object of Ayatollah's entire solicitude, this is the occult laboratory where a fanatic revolution is unfolding which wants to set the world ablaze.

Seyyed Mehdi Hashemi is in charge of training what he calls "the vanguards of the liberation troops of Arab and Islamic countries," the objectives and missions of which vary. The young Iranians will be sent in groups to the Iraqi front and will be placed in charge of crossing the mined fields as Kamikazes. The others in foreign missions will lead terrorist operations and will cause trouble for the Arab and Islamic countries.

The Arab and Islamic volunteers are recruited through the intermediary of Iranian Embassies abroad. The previous charge d'affaires of Iran to North Yemen indicated, after having fled to the United Kingdom and after having joined the national resistance movement led by Bakhtiar, that four Yemenites were sent to Iran through the embassy of this country during the 9 months which he spent in Yemen. These young people subsequently returned to their countries after having been trained on handling arms and sabotage activities.

The Manzarieh camp represents the ultimate stage of training which lasts 3 weeks and during that time several meetings take place between the young recruits and the pillars of the Iranian regime. At the same time the young people begin to familiarize themselves with "the tablets and the beverages of martyrdom" and follow advance training exercises on arms and explosives as well as courses of ideology. One of the first courses they take deals with the "abandonment of one's nationality."

At the end of the training, they take the final examination. Those who succeed receive a diploma signed by Khomeyni himself. The examination is not merely theoretical in nature. It consists of practical obligatory trials as well, by which the instructors judge "the degree of interest that the volunteer gives to the idea of death...." Then, diploma in hand, the young people reach their country of origin through legitimate ways. There, they live in permanent contact with the local Iranian Embassy until they are selected to undertake an operation; because in all the Iranian Embassies abroad there is a special department controlled by the faithfuls of Khomeyni. The latter keeps and furnishes the "tablets and the beverages of martyrdom," as well as the bombs and the explosives. At the right time, they contact the volunteers, they explain their mission, and they give them the drugs, the bombs and the keys to paradise.

However, before joining the elites of "the diploma holders of Manzarieh," one must have followed the preparatory training conducted by the innumerable Iranian camps of initiation to terrorism. These training camps are scattered all across Iran and in numerous places abroad. Since Khomeyni took power, the Iranian Government has established more than 18 camps in Iran and hundred others abroad, among them:

--Barandak camp, near Tehran which is one of the most important centers of terrorism operations.

--Camp number 10 "the Road to Jerusalem" which is one of the most famous centers in Iran and it is there that the members of the al-Dawa party receive their training.

--The camp of Aram park in Qom which used to be a hotel in the past. It is there where the youth having received an ideological vanguard training, are groomed for terrorist missions.

--The Beheshti camp in Kharq is a special center for the training of young women. Nearly 300 young women, ranging in age from 17 to 25 receive their training there. At the end of the training, another fate replaces the former.

The camp welcomes women of different Arab and other nationalities. There are, besides Beheshti camp, 10 other camps for the training of women.

--The Shiraz camp, near the city by the same name, which is the center for training on hijacking of Airbus aircrafts.

Training on Airplane Hijacking

--The Vakilabad camp near Mashhad which was previously used as a camp for Iraqi war prisoners. It was converted in December 1984 into a terrorist training center. There is an airfield near the camp where two civilian planes are used in the training of terrorist specialized in airplane hijacking. The two aircrafts are Boeing 727 and 707.

--Military barracks camp of Bojnurd in Khorassan

--The Badijan Ghayurasli camp in Ahvaz

--Several camps in Tabriz, Esfahan and Qom

--Sayyeda Zaynab camp in Damascus

--The Sheikh Abdallah camp near the Syrian-Lebanese frontier

--The gendarmerie barracks camp in Baalback which used to be the seat of command of Lebanese gendarmerie.

The majority of young trainees in these camps are sent by Iran to Arab countries. It is no secret to anyone that Iran plans the exportation of its revolution and that it has set up a liberation organization for each specific Arab country. All these organizations are subject to one single sector-based command which was under the presidency of Sheikh Ragheb Harb, a Lebanese religious shi'ite. After the death of the latter, the presidency was passed on to Sheikh Mahdi Jaifari, another Lebanese. The regional center of this command is located in an Arab country which is attended by Huseyn Musawi, Sheikh Mohammad Huseyn Fadhlallah, whose name were linked to the marine base incident in Beirut, Mohammad Khanzari, the intermediary between Tehran and the other parties and Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, the present Minister of Interior of Iran.

Fadhlallah directs the suicide unit at the center of Islamic Amal organization. He closely collaborates with an Iranian by the name of Mehdi Gharavi. At the time of the split of Amal in 1982, Sheikh Mohammad Mahdi Shamseddin joined Huseyn Musawi and the Islamic Amal. Thus, the Islamic Amal was transformed into the military arm of liberation movements in the Arab East. That is why those who hijack airplanes and commit acts of sabotage left Bekaa for Lebanon.

The Committee for the Liberation of Arab East Acts under various names according to the aims it sets its sights on. Thus, the signature of "Islamic Jihad" for instance, is used in operations with non-Islamic objectives such as the bombing of the United States Embassy in Beirut. However, other titles are used as well in this particular situation such as "Hesbollahi," "The Islamic Revolution Guards" and "Al Qods." The operations conducted under the name of "Islamic Jihad" are directed by Sheikh' Abbas al-Mahri.

The African committee is presided by Kamar al-Masri, a religious Tunisian who has close ties with the Muslim brothers, Razwan al-Haj, a Moroccan writer and Hojjat ol-Eslam Aqa Mohammadi, Khomeyni's representative in North Africa and Nigeria.

Committee for West Europe

There is, as well, in the heart of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution a special committee for West Europe with its main seat in London. The committee has two offices in Rome and Bonn. In London, the seat of the committee is at the Islamic University and is directed by Ayatollah Shahabadi. His mission is to gather information, throughout the United Kingdom, collected by spies on his payroll. His task is to determine the missions and the operations in Europe in the name of Tehran. Outside this location, there is also in London a center for the al-Dawa party, directed by the brother of this party's leader, Mahdi al-Hakim. The center has contacts, somehow or other, with the seat of Islamic University.

In Rome, the center of Iranian terrorism is inside of the Iranian Embassy. The embassy is located in a beautiful building with 600 rooms at 361-363 via Nomantana. It is directed by Ambassador Hadi Khosrowshahian and it represents the principal Iranian center of information collection and orientation in West Europe. According to the Italian police, the Iranians have succeeded in bringing large quantities of arms into the Embassy. Hundred persons with diplomatic status live inside the Embassy, many of whom participate in the direction of terrorist network and the planning and execution of operations in West Europe. Hundreds of suitcases arrive in Rome by way of Iranian airplanes and go to the Embassy without the Italian police being able to control them.

In the capital of Federal [Republic] of Germany, Khomeyni's center of operations is located in the Islamic institute directed by Ayatollah Hoseyn Moqaddam. In Paris, it is the charge d'affaires of the Embassy, Hoseyn Muziri, an information service officer, who directs the operations. According to the reports of German information service, more than hundred hiding places used by partisan groups of Iran, were registered and uncovered in various European cities: Paris, London, Cologne, Rome, Vienna, Madrid, Athens.

As for the committee for North America, it works through a number of centers in the United States and Canada. Sheikh Nasiri was sent last year by Tehran to North America for a long sojourn with the mission to reorganize the infrastructure of the terrorist operations in the region. Sheikh Nasiri was born in Iraq but travels with an Iranian passport. Sheikh Majiduddin Mahallati travelled to the U.S. with the same goal. He made extensive contacts there with his supporters. Sheikh Mahallati is the son of Ayatollah Mahallati who remained faithful to Khomeyni until his death. After the fall of the Shah in 1980 [sic], he represented Khomeyni in Shiraz and in that capacity, had hundreds of superior officers, suspected of loyalty to the Shah, executed. The security of our future depends to a great extent on these fanatics, these visionaries with names unknown to the general public.

Organizational Chart of Holy War

In September 1981, Khomeyni formed what is called the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution. This council is made up of more than 25 terrorist organizations, directed for the most part against Arab countries. The council has the task of coordinating the deeds of these organizations and to determine its strategy and its tactics. Mohammad Taqi Modarresi, leader of Islamic labor party presides over this council. His assistant is Mohammad Baqer al-Hakim, an Iraqi and president of the al-Dawa party, outlawed in Iraq. Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Modarresi, who was for a while the representative of Khomeyni in Bahrain, Hojjat ol-Eslam Sadeq Musavi, whose father Mehdi Musavi, was the representative of Khomeyni in Kuwait, Hojjat ol-Eslam Akbar Mohtashemi, the present minister of Interior of Iran, Jalaleddin al-Saghir, an eminent Lebanese religious man who works in Lebanon and finally Sheikh Abbas al-Mehri and Mehdi Zarbafand, one of the Kurddish Iranian organizers are among members of the council.

A certain number of committees have stemmed from the Supreme Committee of Islamic Revolution. Each committee covers a specific geographical region: Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Philippines, Indonesia, Malasia, Senegal, Nigeria, Afghanistan, West Europe, the United States. A liberation front has been created for each of these countries.

Besides the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution, there is at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran a department called: "Department of Liberation Movements" directed by Mrs Sidayah(?) Sadeqi and a liaison center with what is called "Liberation Organizations."

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MUSAVI COMMENTS ON TRADE, FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 11 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] Tehran, IRNA--The prime minister of our country, Engineer Musavi, in an interview with the Turkish daily GUNESH, described the revival of cooperation and relations among the Islamic countries of the region as very significant. He added that there are good possibilities for political, economic and trade cooperations between Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and other Persian Gulf countries.

Engineer Musavi said: "This issue was foremost in exchanges between our country's officials and the visiting Turkish delegation headed by Turgut Ozal, the prime minister of that country."

The prime minister of our country, in his interview with the daily GUNESH pointed out the positive outcome of these negotiations for both countries and said: "God willing, during the next year, trade relations will be expanded to reach the goals set forth in the protocol and the trade volume between the two countries will exceed three billion dollars."

With regards to changing the name of the Regional Cooperation for Development Engineer Musavi said: "RCD, which was under the influence of CENTO, was not useful within the context of its goals and objectives. Therefore, we set up the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] to be instrumental in the development of strong economic relations between Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan without the influence of the United States."

The prime minister of our country added: "In the framework of this organization's activities, implementation of projects such as cooperation in the area of satellite communications, has been discussed. This project will eliminate the existing communications problems and expand the television and communications link between the three countries."

He also said that "there are ample opportunities within the framework of the ICO to conduct joint projects among the three countries."

In this interview, Engineer Musavi described our country's oil exporting condition as very good and said: "We have reached one of the largest crude oil reserves in the world and in the near future we will expand our exporting capability to 6 million barrels per day."

He added, "Although the new oil reserves are of heavier crude, they also contain enormous natural gas deposits."

In response to the question of owing money to any other country, the prime minister of our country said: "Despite the on-going war, we do not owe money to any other country in the world. We are the only third-world country, and in this case even among developed countries, that has maintained a balance of payments."

It should be noted that the daily GUNESH has printed the first part of the interview with Engineer Musavi, which was conducted in Tehran, in its Thursday issue.

With regards t[illegible]he agreements signed between Iran and Turkey, the prime minister of our country said: "These agreements will lead to significant results." He added: "There are great possibilities for economic and trade cooperation between Iran, Turkey, and other Persian Gulf countries."

With regards to the export of oil, Mr Musavi said: "We will maintain our exports to within present OPEC quotas and will adhere to its regulations."

According to this report, the daily GUNESH, at the start of the complete text of this interview, in a short analysis about the Islamic Revolution in Iran writes: "Roger Garoudy, the contemporary intellectual, in an analysis of the Grand Ayatollah Khomeyni's revolution, points to an interesting subject. He believes that this revolution has broken down the most advanced 'fifth column' in today's world." The paper adds: "Prior to the victory of the revolution, intelligence sources of the East and the West did not believe it could be implemented. Even after the victory of the revolution, they assessed that it would only last 'one or two' years. But what surprised experienced analysts of East and West intelligence services was, as Ozal also mentioned in one of his interviews, 'the deployment of the Revolution'."

GUNESH adds: "Today, Tehran is a quiet, calm, and safe city. In our meeting with Mr Musavi, we were faced with an interesting economic picture: Iran not only does not owe a cent to other countries, but also, counting past due interests, others owe her four to five billion dollars."

The daily GUNESH then continues with the text of the interview and writes: "GUNESH reporter asked Mr Musavi: 'The Turkish economic delegation believes that the trade volume between the two countries will surpass the three billion dollar mark. What do you think about this?'"

Mr Musavi responded: "I can only say that our talks with Mr Ozal have been happy occasions for both countries. We are close friends with Mr Ozal and this friendship has brought the two countries closer together. As a result of discussions within the joint commission and also, bilateral talks with Ozal, we believe that our trade volume will be over three billion dollars and these agreements will have good results in the future."

The GUNESH reporter then asked: "What do you think was the most important subject of these talks?"

Mr Musavi responded: "Foremost in our discussions was the resurrection of relations among Islamic countries of the region. We think this is a very important issue, particularly as there are very good possibilities with regards to political, economic, and trade cooperation between Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and other Persian Gulf countries. Our discussions have cleared the way for these sorts of cooperations. Another positive aspect of these talks is the implementation of existing protocols between the two countries."

GUNESH: "Has there been any difficulty in implementing these protocols during the last year?"

Mr Musavi: "As a result of these activities, God willing, during the next year, our trade relations will proceed according to our goals set in the protocol and the trade volume between the two countries will exceed three billion dollars."

GUNESH: "What is the reason for the drop in the oil exports of the Islamic Republic of Iran?"

Mr Musavi: "Presently our oil export situation is very good. As we continue to export oil form Khark Island facilities, we also try to keep our export level within OPEC's quotas. At the same time, we are pushing ahead with our efforts to increase the activities of our petroleum exporting units. These efforts will bear fruit by next month, with an increase of one million barrels. We intend to increase our exporting capabilities, by utilizing other production fields, to 6 million barrels per day, not including the Khark Island facilities. Our goal is, contrary to some claims, to keep our exports at this same level." He also added: "We will fulfill all our obligations on time. We have many customers and along with fulfilling our obligations, we will increase our exporting power."

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IRAN

MUSAVI ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, RELATIONS WITH FRANCE, U.S.

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 22 Jan 86 p 10

[Interview with Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, date and place not specified]

[Text] JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI News Service—The government has absolutely no intention of removing subsidies. We believe that subsidies must be paid on basic goods as before, because this helps the country's deprived people and plays an effective role in stabilizing prices and preventing increases in the rate of inflation. The government's official and strong position in the Majlis will be to explain to the respected Majlis representatives that subsidies for basic goods must not be removed.

Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi gave an exclusive interview to the newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in which he announced the above and answered questions from our correspondent concerning ways to create a suitable political atmosphere for launching final operations by the combatants of Islam, results of the French delegation's trip to Tehran, differences between Iran and France, the return of the feudal lords and capitalists who have fled the country, press reports concerning the selection of feudal lords, and other things.

The text of JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI's exclusive interview with the prime minister is presented for our dear readers below.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: For some time now, capitalists who have fled the country have been able to recover some of their lost property by making use of idolater lawyers. In this regard a number of factories and commercial and housing units have been returned to them. Likewise, a number of feudal lords have returned to their villages and taken agricultural lands away from the farmers. In order to prevent abuses by formerly exiled capitalists, the Supreme Judicial Council recently issued a set of guidelines, and the press has reported on the return of idolaters and feudal lords. What is your analysis of the return of those with illegally obtained wealth and the movements that have taken place in this area?

Return of the Illegally Wealthy and Positions Taken by the Press

Prime Minister: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There have been and continue to be returns by idolaters and formerly exiled capitalists to our society, and this is not an unusual matter. A tranquility has been sensed in the country and they have sensed security, although, as is being shown, this was a false sense of security, but they came back to the country and began pursuing their illegal wealth. Clearly, this wealth was obtained by plundering the people and collaborating with the former Americanized regime. The judicial power took a very positive step to prevent abuses by the illegally wealthy. Of course these positions were in line with the positions demanding rights, taken by our press, including JOMHURI-YE ESLAM. In practice, the judicial powers and the executive powers can organize their own policies and movements in the context of public opinion and the atmosphere that exists in society. If the atmosphere prevailing in society and the ideas and awareness of the people are extensive and correct, naturally these two powers of government can work properly. When, God forbid, the opposite is true, that is if the press and the media defend the idolaters, the capitalists, and the bullies, no matter much the judicial and the executive powers demand what is right, in practice they will work slowly to reach their goals, and in many cases they will be prevented from doing their work.

Here I would like to note that JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI's positions and reports in this regard have been and are very effective. It is expected of a newspaper which is attributed in a way to the great Martyr Ayatollah Beheshti, leader of the martyrs of the revolution, that it will not only stand and fight against idolaters and feudal lords, but against any kind of bullying, crookedness, corruption, and filth. The latest set of guidelines from the Supreme Judicial Council is actually a discouragement to the idolaters. Those who return to the country hoping to recover wealth they have plundered from the public treasury must now answer in some way, when referring to the courts, to Principle 49 of the Constitution, one of the brightest and most exceptional principles of our Constitution with no parallel anywhere in the world, which shows the luminous justice of Islam. Fortunately, this principle, which some believed unenforceable in the beginning, is now being implemented seven years after the triumph of the revolution. This matter illustrates the prevalence of the spirit of revolution and orthodoxy over all government organizations in the Islamic republic. It is natural, however, that in the course of the ups and downs of the political and economic problems we have had, this matter would have progressed slowly at some points. I think that when our newspapers are standing strongly today against oppression of the people, plundering of the public treasury, and the return of feudal lords and idolaters, and on the other hand when the judicial powers and the government are forcefully seeking to implement Principle 49 of the Constitution, this illustrates the vitality of the principles of the Islamic revolution. In general it may be said that if there is no supervision in the revolution, there is always the possibility of the return of the age of ignorance. The return of the values of the age of ignorance can seriously endanger the Islamic revolution. If we add to this the fact that the system of values prevailing in our country is being attacked and plotted against by the great powers and various systems of values, and that international plots to defeat the revolution have cultural, political, and economic aspects, we are then responsible for perpetuating the revolution, and for being ever alert to the return of ignorance and the values of ignorance and for having clear and decisive positions against this. In this area, the newspapers can play an important role.

The Difference between Criticism and Revenge

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: As you have said, it is the responsibility of the media to stand against and expose the idolaters, the capitalists, and the plunderers of the public treasury, and in this area measures have already been taken. As you know, elements in society are trying to weaken press reports of the return of the idolaters and feudal lords by attributing them to the government, and on these pretexts, to turn public opinion against the press. What is your view on this issue?

Prime Minister: The Imam of the nation has specified the line between criticism and revenge. He has always stressed that there must be criticism, but no revenge, and this guidance has both revolutionary and Islamic aspects. The important thing is for the newspapers to make a distinction between criticism and revenge, and fortunately they do this.

We think that newspaper criticism of government or judicial activity, if it is seeking what is right, not only should not cause suffering, but it should be welcomed. The judicial and executive powers must make the best use of this criticism in the same spirit in which the newspapers offer it as the voice and cry of the people. The government's position is that it welcomes criticism. There is criticism of the government in JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI and other newspapers. We either consider these criticisms correct and act upon them, or, if they are mistaken, we recommend that the newspapers explain. I have felt that the press has printed our responses with a good spirit. I feel that the brothers in the judicial branch are also happy when the truth is told and are willing to listen to it. I do not think they are uncomfortable when questions of truth are raised.

Eliminating Subsidies

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: It has been heard that for next year's budget the government has decided to propose to the Majlis the elimination of subsidies for some essential and generally needed goods. To what extent is this true? Don't you think that if this is done in practice pressure will be applied to the laborers, workers, farmers, and the oppressed class in general?

Prime Minister: The government has absolutely no intention of eliminating subsidies. We believe that these goods must be subsidized, and that this is actually a way to help the common people and that it plays a basic role in stabilizing prices. Economically, this matter is very important to us for the prevention of increases in the rate of inflation. However, on the Majlis plan and budget committee it was suggested that in practice subsidies be removed from government costs listed in the budget, and that the government could make up the difference in the prices for goods through the Producer and Consumer Protection Organization. However, it is the belief of the government that the income of the Producer and Consumer Protection Organization is in no way sufficient for this purpose. For this reason, the government's official position in the Majlis is to explain to the respected Majlis representatives that subsidies must not be eliminated, and that this could actually bring pressure to bear on the oppressed class and have an undesirable effect on prices. My reading of the situation is that, God willing, the government and the Majlis will reach an understanding on this matter, due to the Majlis' support of the oppressed, its support of stabilized prices, as well as its realistic view. Once again I say emphatically that if this is being said it is a rumor and has no truth.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: In view of the things you have said, and clearly the government does believe that subsidies must not be eliminated, even so it is evident that some government organizations and offices have introduced a third price between the market price and the government price. The Qods chain of stores may be mentioned as an example. Goods are being sold in these stores such as televisions, cigarettes, and other things whose prices do not correspond at all to government prices, while these stores are actually being managed by the government.

Prime Minister: We have a problem with the pricing of goods. Its essence goes back to our roots in economic dependency on the outside world, as well as our dependence on oil income. The root of that goes back to problems arising from the war which has been imposed on us. We must pay a price to continue the war. According to the figures and statistics which were given under the former regime, if the situation is to be stable, it must at least rely on oil. According to predictions made in early 1357 [21 Mar 1978 – 20 Mar 1979], there had to be around 34 to 35 billion dollars in oil income. We have now reduced our level of reliance to around only 15 billion dollars in oil foreign exchange, and it is natural for this to cause shortages. In those days, it was thought that without those levels of oil income the country would not be able to stand on its own. We say that with 15 billion dollars we can both stand on our own and continue the war. However, when we speak of managing the war, the country standing on its own, as well as choosing positive directions for self-sufficiency and economic independence, we must expect along with this some pressure. We will have shortages, and it is natural that these shortages will show themselves in different ways. One of those ways is this, and this is because we cannot pursue a policy of abundance in our society. Another issue is basic goods, where the government has applied rationing vigorously, and it will continue to do so as long as these shortages exist in order to support the oppressed classes.

Regarding the issue of two and three prices for goods, its roots are in the same question you mentioned. A year ago in the government the thesis was advanced that we would take export foreign exchange from organizations who export and obtain their foreign exchange in this way; in return for this foreign exchange we would give them the option of importing some goods. The reason for this policy is that it would encourage the organizations to increase their own production in areas where we have no domestic or national consumption so we could export it abroad. These exports will be possible when there are guarantees for the exporting organizations that the goods they import are profitable and that they can be sold at a price (whether the goods be industrial, capital, or consumer) that can be maintained and that their exports can be used to bring in currency.

We think this is practically beneficial to the country's economy, at the price of slight changes to the cost of a few consumer goods, and not all goods in general, and it can gain us new markets and gradually reduce our dependence on oil. It can persuade our industrial organizations not to depend solely on oil foreign exchange to operate their systems, and it will give them hopes that if they make efforts they can export goods, and use that foreign exchange not only for the importation of raw materials and parts, but also to sell at a freer price than the government price. In practice, there may be items seen in the Qods store that cause unhappiness, but I would like to say that since this policy was adopted, other than a motion we had in the area of exports, many of our industrial units have sometimes had currency problems in very small figures for the procurement of a part, to repair a machine, or to import a raw material, by taking very small steps they are now able to buy this very export foreign exchange, whose price does fluctuate but which is not very high, and do their own work, so to speak. These problems are now less in the country and the matter is being pursued. The important thing, however, is that we apply this policy in such a way that it does not spread to general consumer goods and have an effect on prices in general.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: With regard to the high prices for some goods, unfortunately it appears that needed and necessary goods are also items of general consumption. For example, the government recently offered 2.5 kilograms of unrationed oil at 28 tomans for employees. This situation also exists for meat, sugar, and other necessary general consumer goods. What is your view of this?

Prime Minister: We pay 300 million dollars of the cost of the meat you mention. No country at war pays 300 million dollars of its own money to import meat for the nation to eat when it needs weapons for the war and it needs the money to run its factories. When we went to Cuba, a discussion was held concerning the amount of our import and domestic production of chicken, how much white meat we have and how much red meat. Mr. Castro was surprised at the amount of meat we consume. He said that our consumer standards are close to those of Europe. Of course this is an exaggeration. Our standards are not close to those of Europe, but the level of our consumption is very high compared to that of the other third world countries. This is in wartime, when the important thing is that we pay attention to roots.

Suppose we distribute oil on 11 or 12 occasions, and we want to do it two extra times at 28 tomans. We definitely have a policy. Our policy is that we want to compensate in some way for the income shortages and the losses taken by the vegetable oil factories. We should not pay subsidies, because if we do that it would put pressure on the budget deficit and would be borrowing from the entire nation. By taking the money out of individual pockets, we are providing an option for those who want to consume more oil by letting them pay more. This compensates for the losses, and we do not produce a budget deficit for the entire society, most of whom are poor. Another point concerns meat. Our general policy ought to be aimed at trying to reduce this 320 million dollars in subsidies as much as possible, even if we have to endure some hardship and eat a little bit less, and even if we eat less sugar at times. I think we officially announced 11 ration coupons at about 14 tomans apiece. How much do you think this same sugar costs sold in Karun and Haft Tepe? It is not less than 10 tomans. The government pays subsidies for this. If we want to compensate for the losses in Karun and Haft Tepe we must increase our own production, because we must ultimately get away from dependency on oil foreign exchange and this problem must be solved somewhere. If we do not adopt this policy this problem will return again. If, for example, they had placed 10 billion tomans in the budget last year, the subsidies for the next year would have to be 15 billion tomans, and increased again to 20 billion tomans the next year, and this is taking money out of the pockets of farmers, workers, and employees.

Beginning of Final Assault

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: His Holiness the Imam's representative on the Supreme Security Council has previously announced that the final assault by the combatants of Islam would begin when suitable political conditions obtain in the area and in the world. In view of the recent positions taken by some countries in the area and international groups such as the Islamic Conference Organization on the Karbala movement, are conditions not yet right for a final operation?

Prime Minister: The principle which the respected speaker of the Majlis expressed is the official policy of our government, and the matter of the war, attacks, and responses to the enemy are always contingent on our special military and political circumstances.

Our country's interests have been threatened by the imposed war and our rights have been violated. We have announced our primary positions concerning the war many times. Naturally, it is our option when to strike the final blow against the Iraqi regime. Of course we will carry out our final operation under suitable political and military conditions. The important thing is the preparedness of those going to Karbala and the combatants of Islam, and this preparedness is seen as a powerful tool for achieving the rights of our nation.

Iran's active diplomacy on the political stages of the world now makes good use of the preparedness of the forces of Islam for leverage. Likewise, this preparedness is a means of applying pressure to our enemy at the fronts, rousing them from their dream. They are constantly fighting a universal mobilization with generous funding and thunderous morale at all the fronts, and this has put heavy pressure on Iraq's economy and the morale of the Iraqi army and has the Iraqi regime practically kicking and thrashing. In the wake of this, we are seeing movement from the international organizations and various countries in which the subjects of peace and compromise have again been raised. Whenever we plan to launch an effective operation, they usually raise the subject of peace in order to defend Saddam's regime.

America's Legal Sanctioning of Ship Inspections in the Persian Gulf

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: Western governments, and especially America, have reacted in different and conflicting ways when the Islamic republic has inspected ships bearing merchandise for the Iraqi regime. America has recently implicitly recognized the legality of the Islamic Republic of Iran's inspection of ships in the Persian Gulf. What is your analysis of America's new position?

Prime Minister: In general we have a special policy in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormoz, and our procedure conforms to international law. The inspection of ships bearing merchandise for the enemy is a right which all countries have used in the last century. Naturally, it makes no difference to us what country the ships belong to. What had created all the surprise and uproar is the fact that a ship belonging to America, a superpower, was inspected. In view of the Islamic revolution of Iran, this should not be considered an astonishing matter. We rely on the orthodoxy of Islam and our own people, and we are not afraid of any power in the world. Naturally, we will defend our own rights without fear of any power. America's reaction to the inspection of its ship was somewhat angry, because American was humiliated by this act of the Islamic Republic of Iran. On the other hand, if America wants to protest this matter clearly, it must answer logically for its current aggression in the Caribbean Sea and Latin America and effectively face objections from the public opinion of the people of America. If we inspect ships in the Persian Gulf to prevent them from carrying weapons to the enemy, America cannot make the slightest protest because it pressures Nicaragua and other revolutionary countries using bullying tactics and illegal measures, and any protest of ship inspections in the Persian Gulf would in fact make the acts of America itself unjustifiable in the eyes of American public opinion. America has a problem in this area. This does not mean that America will abandon its aggressive and bullying spirit because of the Islamic republic's inspection of its ships, but we have our own special independent policies.

Money Demanded from France a Basic Point

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: What is your view of the results of the recent trip by the French delegation to Tehran, and the Islamic Republic of Iran's demand of a billion dollars from this country?

Prime Minister: This assessment, with the interest, is a very large amount, and there have been differences of opinion in the past over how to calculate the interest. A French official said: Since you are an Islamic country, Islamic theology does not permit you to collect interest. They then presented a number of theological opinions and views in theological treatises. Imagine the representatives of a bullying country like the socialist regime of France, which does not even believe in Christianity, coming and relying on the views of theologians and theological treatises, even raising the issue of consensus.

In any case, these questions were not raised in the latest talks. However, we cannot now announce that these talks have reached positive results. There are plans for these talks between the two countries to continue seriously. Likewise, during these talks there were serious discussions concerning the amount due the Islamic republic and its interest. We think that this was a positive step in this area, but one must wait for future developments. The French government must pay the amount due us without any conditions, and we place great emphasis on this matter. We will not be silent until we have received what is due us, and the future of relations between the two countries is strongly tied to this issue. Some French circles are trying to say that the resolution of their debt to Iran is a small matter in the overall context of relations between the two countries, and to relate differences of opinion to other things, so as to justify in some way the French socialist regime's failure to pay this sum. We say to French public opinion that the basic point and the basic knot to be unraveled in our relations with France is this very debt of a billion dollars with interest which must be paid to Iran. Of course we have other differences with France, but this debt is the basic point.

Apart from the above economic matter, we are seeing some bullying and rebelliousness on the French side to which our government cannot submit, and naturally we will deal with it. In any case, until the Islamic republic's account is paid, France has no hope of expanding relations between the two countries even one step. France must deal with this matter seriously.

The Hague and America's Theft

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI: The government of the Islamic republic has submitted a complaint to the Hague concerning America's theft of spare parts for Iran's warplanes. What steps have been taken in this area so far, and is there a possibility of recovering these parts or not?

Prime Minister: I cannot speak decisively now on this subject. I will only say that America is an aggressor power and it steals in the world in any way possible; we can never see a reduction in America's spirit of aggression in the world.

An outstanding example of America's aggressive spirit in the world is the theft of spare parts for the Islamic republic's spare parts. The Hague is more suitable than other courts on the basis of the Algeria Manifesto which was prepared in the time of the great Martyr Raja'i. Our judges are pursuing this matter, and the Islamic Republic of Iran will not abandon its claims.

9310
CSO: 4640/179

IRAN

IRP ORGAN COMMENTS ON, ANTICIPATES 'AMERICA'S DEATH'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 19 Jan 86 pp 1, 11

[Text] In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful

The events of the early weeks of the new Christian year were very disappointing for the residents of the White House in Washington and their allies. The gift the pharaoh of Egypt gave to his U.S. and Israeli masters of martyring the hero of Sinai, Soleyman Khater, in the early days of the new Christian year not only failed to give them any pleasure, even for a moment, but darkened the future horizon of Egypt before all their greedy eyes and made them understand that the Islamic country of Egypt belongs to Islam. This was a great defeat for the United States and its satellites, a defeat that will never be compensated for and the recent struggle of the Great Satan to try to control the situation by establishing the special Egypt committee will not be useful either.

More bitter than what occurred in Egypt for the United States and its allies was the events in connection with the visit of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Pakistan and several African countries. The warm, unprecedented reception of the people of these countries given the representative of the Islamic revolution, which was very surprising to the United States, was firstly a deadly and stunning blow against those sitting in the White House in Washington who are engaged in conspiracy against this revolution. Most importantly, the cries of "death to America" resonant in the atmosphere of Pakistan and over all the radios, even the American, European and Zionist radios, had to be reported somehow. More striking and stunning than the cries of "death to America" heard in Pakistan was the slogan of "Khomeyni, leader" [cried] by the people of Africa shouted during the reception of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. With this slogan, the people of Africa clearly showed that all the efforts of the expansive propaganda organization of the enemies of the Islamic revolution headed by the United States to smudge the face of this revolution and make the people of the world pessimistic in regards to the leader of the revolution were futile and useless. Not only did they have no effect but they caused more hatred on the part of the nation towards the United States and more interest in and leanings toward the Islamic revolution and its leader. If the U.S. leaders are wise, they must realize this point and make Reagan, who might not understand such an issue, understand that what was observed in Pakistan and Tanzania in those countries' reception of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not unique to those countries. The Islamic revolution has many supporters and lovers around the world, even in the heart of the United States and Europe, who are ready to obey the decrees of the leader of this revolution and when necessary they will not stop at any measure to support it and slap the face of its enemies.

If the Americans and their allies can learn a lesson and heed advice, they must learn a great lesson from what occurred in Argentina and Chile simultaneous with the events of Pakistan and Tanzania. The representatives of the domineering, world-devouring United States departed for Argentina and Chile simultaneous with the visit of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Asia and Africa during the second week of the new Christian year. This was in fact the first foreign mission of high-ranking U.S. officials following the Christmas holidays. Rockefeller in Argentina and Edward Kennedy in Chile were welcomed by the people of these two countries with rotten tomatoes and eggs and stones, wood, and old shoes thrown at them and were entertained with cries of "death to America." Surely if Reagan himself would have visit those two countries as the U.S. president, the people would have welcomed him with more rotten eggs and louder cries of death to America.

What can be concluded from a comparison of these events with those that occurred simultaneously in Pakistan and Tanzania is that the sun of the good fortune of the world-devourers, above all the world-devouring United States, is setting. Western analysts must examine these events carefully and realize a world full of issues from them. Whether they want to or not, they are now faced with the undeniable fact that the great uncontrollable and undefeatable power of the human will has now stood up against the military machines of the Satanic powers. Such power cannot be confronted with artillery. The astonishing reality of the time is that while the East and the West are engaged in an arms race and showing off to each other with their "Cruise" and "SS" intercontinental missiles, the political growth and awareness of the nations is increasing moment by moment and their determination to destroy the domination of the world-devourers is becoming stronger. Hence, it is certain that the day will come when, before they have the opportunity to use their ultramodern weapons, the great powers will have to submit to the will of the nations and nothing can prevent it.

If the Islamic Republic of Iran detains and inspects U.S. and British ships like the ships of other countries, this is by no means connected with weapons and artillery. It is the will of the revolutionary nations of Iran which does not consider anything to be an obstacle in trying to retrieve its rights. If the world experts and news and propaganda operators are surprised by this action of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is because they have not yet realized the willpower of a nation. This is the same power that dismissed the United States from Iran and prepared the grounds for breaking the domination of the Great Satan throughout the world. And now the same willpower is forming among all the nations of the world and it is this same power which will bring the United States and other Great Satans to their knees The appearance of this power precisely means "death to America" and this is a great event which is taking shape.

10,000
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IRAN

HUNDRED TWENTY HECTARES OF LAND CONFISCATED IN ESFAHAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 8 Dec 85 p 18

> [Text] Esfahan, KEYHAN correspondent. In accordance with a decree issued by the revolution prosecutor of Esfahan and Qomsheh, 120 hectares of government lands occupied by 8 supporters of the previous regime were confiscated and 5 of these landowners were arrested and jailed.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Qodyani, the revolution prosecutor of Esfahan and Qomcheh, announced the above statement and said: A 120-hectare plot of land belonging to the government which had a private ownership claim on it was registered in their names in '59 [21 March 1980-20 March 1981] after connections were established in the Justice Department and a document cancelling the ownership of the government was issued.

He added: Once again the organization of development and lands has repossessed some parts of these lands and the committee for urban land organization has declared these lands as barren and stated that they belong to the government.

He added: Despite all of these problems, the owners have engaged in selling those lands.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Qodyani added: Following the statements of the prosecutor general in connection with this kind of property, in a communique we informed the people of the situation. However, the landowners, with forged documents dated '56 [21 March 1977-20 March 1978], have pocketed millions of rials from these lands. After these problems, we issued a ruling to arrest five of these owners, by the names of Hamzeh Pazhuhandeh, Hoseyn Mortazavi, Mohammad Reza E'tedali, Qasem Sowda'i, and Mahmud Farahmand. They are in jail at present and all those lands have been confiscated.

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CSO: 4540/181

FREEDOM MOVEMENT REFUTES KHOMEYNI'S RIGHT TO DECIDE ON WAR

London KEYHAN in Persian 23 Jan 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The Freedom Movement of Iran under the leadership of Engineer Mehdi Bazargan, the first provisionary prime minister of the Islamic regime has put aside all previous whitewash and gloss and condemned the slogan "War until victory;" it considered this motto one coined by the communists and in the meantime announced that the true meaning of this slogan is "War until the destruction of Iran and Shiism," after several months of overt and covert strife and altercation with the ruling authorities through publication of a pamphlet regarding the Iran-Iraq war.

The pamphlet of the Freedom Movement, which was published under the title "A Just End to An Endless War," was distributed extensively and as a result attracted the quick reaction of the officials of the Islamic republic. The JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, official organ of the ruling party, while in its leading editorial vehemently attacks the liberals and those pleasure-seekers who are still dreaming of the previous regime, went on to write: These individuals who call themselves religious intellectuals and refute or rebut the holy motto "War, War until victory" ought to know that the Hezbollah nation will not tolerate them.

Close associates of Engineer Bazargan have considered the threat of the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI newspaper a serious one.

Here, it should be noted that as a result of the recent opposition of Bazargan and his associates with the suzerainty or lordship of the ruling party, Bazargan himself together with six other leading members of the Freedom Movement have been forbidden to leave Tehran. Although officially it has been stated that as a result of a complaint from a Hezbollahi from Damghan, Bazargan himself has been barred from leaving the judicial district of Tehran, but unofficially the above decision also includes such individuals as Dr Ahmad Sadr-e Haj Seyyed Javadi, Dr Reza Sadr, Engineer Hashem Sabaghian and Engineer Bazargan's son, Abdolali Bazargan.

Right now, with regard to the publication of the Freedom Movement's recent pamphlet on the threshold of the 10 days of the Fajr ceremonies, on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the Islamic Republic, it seems that the altercation between a man, who seven years ago during the same period was a trusted political confidant of Ayatollah Khomeyni who supervised the negotiations with the

East and the West to find a way for the downfall of the former regime and lead the Ayatollah to power, has reached a very serious stage.

Those days, for Bazargan Ayatollah Khomeyni was the personification of the revolution and the reawakening of the Iranian nation, but today in a tacit manner in the aforementioned pamphlet entitled "A Just End to An Endless War" he implies that the Ayatollah has lost all common sense.

After a brief introduction, the authors of the pamphlet on a just end to the war talk about the need to obey the religious instructions regarding collaboration and common effort in beneficence, abstinence and avoidance of committing sin and bearing hostility. They consider the violators of these instructions as enemies of the people's rights and the prophet and give their reason for the publication of the said pamphlet as mere conformance to these instructions.

In other words, since the people's rights have been trampled by those individuals who under the name of Islam commit the greatest hostile acts against Islam, the Freedom Movement has deemed it necessary to publish this pamphlet.

Thereafter, the pamphlet begins as follows: Five years and three months after Saddam Hoseyn attacked Iran and three and a half years after the reconquering of Khorramshahr by our courageous and heroic fighters who pushed back the transgressing army of Iraq, despite all timely warnings and measures which have been taken to end the war, yet still the scorching oven of this imposed war is very fervently burning on and the attacks and counterattacks still continue inflicting enormous damage on both sides. There is a flood of blood and destruction in Iran and Iraq while in the East and Western Europe the flood of our oil and foreign exchange are bartered to acquire at very high prices modern destructive weapons or to buy the essential needs which we ourselves should be producing. Our lot is blood and destruction and theirs is victory and gains. Not only are all the responsible officials so preoccupied and contented with their lot that they will lend an ear to all the shouts and screams which call for an end to this hellish war, but if someone dares to ask for an end to the war or talks about peace, his very thought and act will be considered an unpardonable sin and treason. They say that this is an imposed war which is supported by the United States, yet there is no effort to decrease its onslaught or bring it to a halt or welcome any discussion or suggestion for peace. They set up certain conditions and evoke the slogan: This war will go on forever until complete destruction of the enemy. They ask, why do you write something which pleases Saddam; however, they never ask what really pleases God or the people of Iran. Their main principle and goal is the destruction of Saddam and not the happiness or well-being of the Iranian nation or pleasing God or obeying His commandments.

In another part of the Freedom Movement's pamphlet the authors have resorted to Iranian history to investigate the on-going war. The interesting thing is that since Ayatollah Khomeyni and his regime flatly deny the Iranian history or its identity, the authors use the parenthetical sentence "if we may be allowed to mention Iran and its history." In this regard, while pointing to the history of the Iranian nation the authors say: The people of Iran throughout their long history have endured many wars, invasions and attacks and they have been victorious in some and defeated in many others. However, in all such situations the Iranians have been able to absorb the usurping transgressors into their culture, religion or nationality and regain the lost honor and independence of the country.

Regime's Reaction:

In another part of the pamphlet on ending the war, the Freedom Movement points to its efforts in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the struggles of Mizan newspaper, and its endeavors in international forums for putting an end to the war. It is in this section of the pamphlet that we read about the private letters which have been sent by Bazargan to Khomeyni and other responsible officials of the Supreme Defense Council in which he has discussed the need for bringing an end to the war. However, instead of a positive reaction by the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic to all such efforts, they have imposed restrictions or limitations on the members and leaders of the Freedom Movement or have created some harassment for them. Any they've asked many times how it would be possible to have a peace agreement on which both the names of Saddam and Khamene'i appear as signatories?

Quoting a Majlis deputy, the authors of the pamphlet go on to write: Is Saddam worse than Mo'avieh or is Khamene'i better than Imam Hassan?"

Marxist Goal and Motto:

With a view to the slogan of the regime's followers who advocate the necessity of "removing vice and mischief from the face of the earth," the pamphlet of the Freedom Movement calls this objective a marxist goal and goes on to say: The motto or the last decree of the regime which states that the war and killings should continue for as long as the very roots of all the vice and seditions are removed in itself suggests the most profound and extensive transgressions. It is very probable that until now no theocrat, no expounder or expositor of the Koran and certainly none of the prophets or the imams and even none of the anti-despotism and anti-colonization strugglers has proposed such a view and program. It is only in the marxist dialectic philosophy and in the communist propaganda where the antithesis opposes the thesis and tries to destroy it. And it is only there that this philosophy forms a part of the principles and objectives and , from the viewpoint of politics and propaganda, it is a part of their philosophy to deemphasize or negate the absolute rule of capitalists and capitalism and destroy imperialism throughout the world.

However, there is but one difference, they first and foremost seek self-sufficiency, self-interest, superiority in production and similar means and continue to buttress and expand their military forces, their economy, their science, their politics, their technical and scientific know-how and even their culture and whenever they notice a rival, they begin to include the aforementioned goals in their propaganda and programs.

And such propaganda and programs are most often exported and carried out at the expense of followers of the revolutions in other countries.

Where Is the War Leading?

In another part of the Freedom Movement's pamphlet the connection between the war and the very existence of the regime is explicitly analyzed.

What we see now is an endless war which could very well lead us to the end of the world. It could very well be the end of Iran and its people or it could be the end of the supporters of the motto "War until victory," a motto in which the victory has not been determined or made limited. And where the propaganda and indocrinations push ever forward the limit of final boundaries and make the situation ever more difficult and complicated... so much so that the leaders of the regime have stated that even if we lose everything in the war except one house, we will continue the war from that single house and similarly, if only one person survives the war he too will continue on the war. We would like to ask if there is anything synonymous in a sound mind with the slogan "War, war until victory?" The regrettable thing is that it is not only Iran or its people who will be destroyed if the policy of war until victory continues, but the pursuance of such a policy will harm irreparably Islam and shiism throughout the world.

The fact of the matter is that those superpowers and Israel who are being condemned by the regime will stand to reap exorbitant benefits from:

1- The sale of an unprecedented volume of weapons to both warring nations and all the neighboring countries and other worried nations throughout the world at very profitable prices.

2- The purchase and plunder of the Middle East oil at the cheapest price for their own industries.

3- Export of foodstuffs, pharmaceuticals, raw materials and spare parts at even higher prices than those prevalent during the reign of the shah, whether directly or indirectly as a result of decrease in the production or closing of the production institutions, after the advent of the revolution and the war.

4- Great political success against the Islamic revolution of Iran and its export through our inability which arises from our preoccupation with the problem of self-sufficiency, reconstruction and strengthening of the country which has been suffering from the financial, human and military difficulties resulting from the war. So much so that the very objectives of the revolution have become secondary goals and thereby have brought most bitter and disappointing experiences for the Iranian nation and other interested individuals in the world.

5- Diplomatic success for the United States in strengthening its domination and its solidarity with European countries and in attracting the dependency of the Arab nations of the Middle East.

6- Israel's joy and happiness over the extraordinary number of war casualties and the carnage and weakening of the staying powers of the two warring nations, the two Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq which it considers as the probable enemies of Israel.

Thus, with due consideration to the above-stated facts it will not be very easy for an impartial observer to conclude that the war between Iran and Iraq, which according to the leaders of the revolution is but an imposed war--since from every standpoint it has been to the advantage of the superpowers of the East and the West and Israel--has been continued only as a result of their wish and desire.

Thereafter, the Freedom Movement explicitly condemns Khomeyni and his clique or inner circle's decision about the fate of the Iranian nation and writes: We are not saying that all our Koranic, our political and economic views, reasonings and rationalizations are 100 percent correct and the government and the nation ought to accept them, no questions asked. What we say, and we pointed to it at the beginning, is that in such an important and grave matter, which outstrides all the great events of the history of our country, a single mind, although it supposedly is very knowledgeable, powerful and discerning, ought not to be the only decision maker and all the executive powers should not be trusted to a hand-picked council which is but a blind follower of the leader without paying the least attention to the views and opinions of the forty and some million people whose lives, whose wealth, whose future and even their very present and future world have become a plaything in this adventure, and they are only being considered as the weapons and tools with which to carry out the job. You know better than anybody else that all those pre-ordered mottos, long marches on the streets, those television interviews, those newspaper headlines and the day of Qods with some million participants were but empty and artificial assertions which has no value except as propaganda.

Let's only for once, for them and instead of them for the sake of a thorough, conscientious and godly and true understanding of the situation through your own scientific substantiation, impartially and freely, without creating an atmosphere of threat, fear, monopoly of propaganda ask the very people, the masses who compose the nation of Iran and not a particular group of followers of the regime, what they really think about the war.

If the regime does not feel frightened, even for a temporary period it should provide an opportunity for the opposition to express their views on the continuation of the war without any fear of reprisal. It should invite the common people--but not the hand-picked individuals--with complete assurance for their safety and security to express their opposition to the war and be allowed to hold demonstrations.

Freedom Movement's Solution:

At the end of the pamphlet, the Freedom Movement suggests its own solution for ending the war as follows: In order to make sure that our criticism is not one-sided and negative all the way, we've also made some positive suggestions for putting an end to the war which are presented to the government and the Iranian nation as follows:

1- An end to the war be made as a basic goal.

2- Our foreign policy and war propaganda should be revised and emphasis should be made on peace and non-interference or non-intervention of Iran in other countries' internal affairs.

3- So as to bring an end to the war and hostilities, the conditions set by Iran ought to be announced in the following manner:

1- Iraq, as the aggressor or instigator of the war, ought to be condemned by the United Nations.

2- An international delegation of experts which is acceptable by both sides should determine the extent of loss and damages.

3- Iraq ought to be held responsible or obligated to pay for the war damages and resulting losses.

4- All the POWs of both countries should be released.

5- For a specified period, a security interim under the supervision of the UN peace-keeping forces should be kept within Iraqi territory.

6- Iranian troops should return to the international borders which were recognized before the war and the Iraqi troops ought to return behind the interim security forces.

7- Iranian diplomacy should reactivate toward above-mentioned conditions.

8- Until the acquisition of a just and lasting peace, the Iranian warriors should be kept and ever strengthened along the various fronts, and on the whole as a means of preventing any future transgressions and discounraging of the enemies, our military forces must be made self-sufficient and properly equipped to the best of our ability.

12719
CSO: 4640/163

BAZARGAN GROUP: HEZBOLLAHIS 'STATE TERRORISTS'

London KEYHAN in Persian 23 Jan 86 pp 1, 3

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Engineer Medhi Bazargan and a group of well known members of the Freedom Movement and National Front have sent a letter to Ayatollah Khomeyni. In this letter, they strongly protested the swarms of Hezbollahis at the gathering in Arak mosque to commemorate the death of the late Engineer Ahmad Mossadeq, the son of Dr Mossadeq.

This is the second harsh writing published by the Freedom Movement and Bazargan's friends in recent weeks. The first writing was a pamphlet opposing the continuation of the war and it is reprinted on page 16 of this issue.

In the second writing addressing Ayatollah Khomeyni, after a preface about the holding of the memorial service for the late Engineer Ahmad Mossadeq in the Arak mosque, the authors of the letter stated: "On the afternoon of Saturday, 28 December 1985 on the occasion of the death of Engineer Ahmad Mossadeq, the elder son of the late Dr Mohammad Mossadeq, the former Prime Minister of Iran, a prayer memorial service was held in Arak mosque by a group of Muslims and patriots, among them some of the signers of this letter. The service was begun by reading verses from the holy Koran and ended with a sermon. With advance published notices in the two afternoon government newspapers of Tehran and the approval of the people in charge of the Arak mosque, it was anticipated that this memorial service would be carried out peacefully and securely. However, with great regret, even though armed members of the Komiteh were located at the entrance, yard and even the roof and balcony of the mosque, and the police were trying very hard to keep law and order, toward the end of the service, while people were leaving the mosque peacefully, a group of roguish vagrants who call themselves Hezbollahis, and mostly are called the same by the officials, and have made the word Hezbollahi synonymous with government terrorists in the world, attacked the people attending the memorial service in the courtyard of the mosque, beating them and making calumnious remarks. They cursed and insulted the deceased and contemporaries with abusive language. While praising the honorable rank of the leadership, they destroyed and damaged cars, arrested some of the people and finally made their way inside the mosque's nocturnal prayer place and attacked the people and beat the religious speaker. All this violence took place in front of the amazed eyes of the honorable brother, the authorized representative of your eminent Ayatollah. He could definitely legally testify to these occurrences in person. Meanwhile, we have to mention that there was nothing in the speech of the respected speaker to give any excuse to the vagrants. To prove this claim, you could order those disciplinary forces present at the mosque who taped all the speeches completely, to play the tape and your eminence could hear it yourself."

In another section referring to the responsibilities of the disciplinary forces of the Islamic Republic for establishing order, the authors of the letter have written: "Isn't it true that a group of people of this country had intended to hold a memorial service to mourn the death of the son of a man who served his country and who was once celebrated all over the world? Many distinguished world leaders have testified that this was the first person to fight against ancient British colonialism, the first head of a government to resist the new U.S. colonialist pressures and the one who eliminated colonialism in Iran. To hold a public and open memorial service by publishing notices in widely circulated newspapers of the country is not something secret. Therefore, based on what logic, or what legal or religious regulations, can a group permit themselves to ignore the uniformed officials and in front of their eyes, enter the nocturnal prayer area of the mosque in order to disturb the peace, create disorder and attack and beat the participants of this memorial service? The people demand and want to know who supports these people and whom they are relying on? If the official authorities were aware of these events, this is the best reason to give grounds to the enemies of the revolution for calling the government of Iran the object of state terrorism."

In another part of the letter, it is stated: "The people's tolerance and patience and the dutifulness and continuous control by the police force certainly helped to prevent a calamity in the Arak mosque." A calamity, that according to the writing of Bazargan and his group, could be like the event at Kerman mosque in 1979. In another part of the letter it is stated: "It appears that the plan and purpose of the invaders was designed in such a manner in order to get revenge from the patriots and lovers of religion who have been fighting all their lives against despotism and unreasonable demands and have always been initiators for defending the freedom and respecting the sovereignty of the nation of Iran. These people did not even care about staining the mosque's courtyard, altar, and pulpit with the people's blood. All government officials, from the President to the Premier and ministers, the heads of other forces, and even the lowest ranking government officials call themselves the followers of your eminence, have identified themselves as unconditionally obeying your orders and views and call that their religious duty. Therefore, willingly or unwillingly, they place the burden of all their responsibilities in front of God and the people on your eminent shoulder. The direct and indirect responsibility for any deviation from the constitution at all levels of government affairs are turned to your eminence. With respect to this fact, we must refer to Ali (the first Imam), 'Peace be Upon Him', who considered himself and government officials responsible for the affairs and was concerned when some people in the farthest part of the country robbed an anklet from a Jewish woman. It is worth mentioning that the constitution has been accepted and signed by your eminence and is indeed an agreement that outlines the powers and responsibilities of the two parties to the agreement. Article 112 states that 'the leader or the members of the council of leaders, and all other citizens of the country are equal before the law.' With attention to this fact, this incident indicates the carelessness, negligence, and incapability of the government to establish law and order and protect human prestige and esteem. Therefore, we are obliged to present our protest and complain to your eminence. We are surprised that these outrageous and damaging activities are always connived at and have given a chance to the wrongdoers and oppressors to interpret this silence as a sign of consent for their aggression making them more bold and continuing their unlawful and uncanonical activities."

At the conclusion, the authors of the letter have alerted Khomeyni that in order to prevent the continuation of the atmosphere of terror in the country, he must intervene personally, and should issue serious notice to the judicial and disciplinary officials to end the harshness and outlawry.

The number of signatures under this letter indicate that the number of those with the same voice as Bazargan's group has increased greatly in recent months. The names of the signatories of this letter are as follows: Ali Ardalan, Dr Shamseddin Amir 'Ala'i, Hoseyn-Shah Hoseyni, Mahmud Manian, Dr Assadollah Mobasheri, a former member of the National Front, Dr Kazem Sami, and Dr Nezameddin Qahari from the Islamic Movement Group and Iran National, JAMA, Dr Rahim 'Abedi from the Radical Movement, a group of independents from the National Movement, Engineer Mahmud Amirahmadi, Dr Rahmatollah Borhani, Dr Nur-'Ali Tabandeh, Dr Habib Davaran, Engineer Heshmatollah Khozu'i, Rasul Radmehr, Ahad Reza'i, Dr Mehrdad Salour, 'Ali 'Alizadeh Na'ini, Dr 'Ali-Asghar Gharavi, Jalal Ghanizadeh, Dr Hasan Faridalam, Engineer Reza Golahmar, Mostafa Meskin, Hormoz Momayezi, Haddi Mo'tameni, 'Abbas Sami'i, Seyyed Nurollah Mirahmadi, Mohammad Mohammadi Ardehali, Abolfazl Mirshams Shahshahani, Mahmud Nekuruh, Dr Hoseyn Hashem-Nejad, Dr Hadi-Zadeh and Mir Mohammad Mir Haqani.

The signatories from the Freedom Movement are as follows: Engineer Mehdi Bazargan, Akbar Badizadegan, Mohammad Bastehnegar, Engineer Abolfazl Bazargan, Dr Hoseyn Bani-Assadi, Engineer Abdol'ali Bazargan, Dr Farhad Behbehani, Engineer Reza Puyan, Mahmud Pishbin, Engineer Abbas Taj, Engineer Mohammad Tavassoli, Mehdi Cheheltan, Abolfazl Hakimi, Kazem Haqiqat, Engineer Mohammad Rasulian, Ebrahim Reza'i, Akbar Zarinehbaf, 'Ali Zarinehbaf, Dr Yadollah Sahabi, Engineer 'Ezatollah Sahabi, Hashem Sabaqhian, Dr Reza Sadr, Dr Jalil Zarabi, Engineer Yusef Taheri, Engineer Akbar Taheri, Ebrahim Eynakchi, Dr Ghaffar Farzadi, Engineer Mostafa Katira'i, 'Ali-Akbar Golparvaran, Ali Gorji, Seyyed Javad Madarshahi, Engineer Reza Masmu'i, Engineer 'Ali Akbar Moa'yenfar, 'Ali-Asghar Moa'yenfar, 'Abbas Moslehi, Engineer Jamshid Mansurian, Khosrow Mansurian, Engineer Nezameddin Movahed, Abdol-Hoseyn Mir-Qomizadeh, Nasser Minachi, Engineer Taqi Takufar, Dr Ibrahim Yazdi, Dr Kazem Yazdi and Engineer Habib Yekta.

Of the total signatories, 31 persons had been premier, minister, public prosecutor, undersecretary, governor and director general of the petrochemical industry at the beginning of the revolution and 7 of them had been members of the first session of the Majlis.

9815/12858
CSO: 4640/152

IRAN

SECURITY TIGHTENED AT KHOMEYNI'S RESIDENCE IN JAMARAN

London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Feb 86 p 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The Ministry of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, in an unprecedented step, took all the lands around the residence of Ayatollah Khomeyni in Jamaran from their previous owners and started creating buildings and new guard stations on these lands.

This step began two weeks ago with an announcement in the Tehran newspapers by the engineering office of the Guards Corps in which all the owners of the lands around the residence of Ayatollah Khomeyni and the Jamaran religious center were notified to go to the central office of the Guards Corps with their documents and deeds to these lands within 15 days in order to transfer their lands. And after the expiration of the deadline, all the lands that were within the area identified in the announcement were taken over by the Guards Corps. The names of a number of the owners of the lands which were mentioned in the Guards Corps announcement were as follows: Messers Seyyed Jamaleddin Sadat-Tehrani, Ruhollah Moto'added, Yusef Mottahedeh, and several others to whom the lands around the Jamaran residence belonged.

Simultaneous with the possession of these lands, a number of the residents around the residence of Ayatollah Khomeyni were also notified that they should transfer their homes either by selling or exchanging them. During the past few years, most of these homes have been allocated as residences of the guards of the "imam's home" and the Guards Corps stationed in the guard stations.

However, many of those who still live within this area have submitted to the problems of regular numerous inspections and have not given up or sold their homes. Those in this group are given special passes to travel to and from their homes and the names of their guests and relatives who want to visit their homes must be reported to the guards unit of the "imam's home" to be approved. These inspections are more expansive for those who live around the Jamaran religious center or the residence of Ayatollah Khomeyni. Daily they must go through numerous inspections and guard posts and their cars and persons are thoroughly inspected. For this reason, the homes in Jamaran have declined severely in value and fewer people are prepared to buy homes in this area and submit to such inspections and problems.

From 10 Dey 64 [31 December 1985], in preparing the Jamaran religious center for foreign guests visiting Ayatollah Khomeyni on the seventh anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, inspections were expanded to include the streets and alleys around Jamaran as well. Inspecting passersby within this area also included the bags of elementary school students.

The residence of Ayatollah Khomeyni is located in one of the large old orchards of Jamaran which is full of trees. In the middle of the garden, there is a helicopter pad and there are guard posts equipped with antiaircraft defense mechanisms in a radius of hundreds of meters. A French correspondent who visited the Jamaran religious center some time ago had described the center which is located near Ayatollah Khomeyni's residence as a strong fortress surrounded by walls, guards and modern electronic equipment. This French correspondent wrote: The distance of 300 meters to reach the Jamaran religious center took 2 hours to travel. He was frequently inspected and searched thoroughly and his personal belongings were confiscated until his return.

With the newly acquired lands around the Jamaran residence and the observation and inspection posts which have increased by seven or eight times in recent days, it appears that the strong fortress of Jamaran has become stronger and with the fear regarding the opponents of the Islamic Republic regime, new strongholds arise surrounding the residence of the leader of the Islamic Republic every day.

10,000
CSO: 4640/177

IRAN

MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ LEADER VIEWS GOALS, ACTIVITIES

PM131609 Paris LE FIGARO in French 10 Feb 86 p 6

[Interview with exiled Iranian Mojahedin-e Khalq leader Mas'ud Rajvi by Claude Lorieux in Auvers-sur-Oise--date not given]

[Excerpt] "Khomeyni is in Tehran; it is therefore in Tehran that he must be overthrown," Mas'ud Rajavi explained. "We have a presence in the mountains; it is easier to assemble a large number of people there. But the mountains are only the rear bases for the front which is in the cities."

One example of their action is the destruction between September 1984 and September 1985 of 90 "centers of repression" held, Rajavi explained, by the 22 police-type bodies which the regime now has.

Does this mean that the man who was previously sentenced to death (a sentence commuted to life imprisonment) in the Shah's prisons is the chief general of the anti-Khomeyni commandoes? Rajavi denied this. The Mojahedin movement--of which he is the only surviving founding leader--sent him to Europe in 1981 to "put forward our alternative" to the regime of "sovereignty for the clergy."

"I am not a military leader. I am the spokesman for a 20 year old movement. I do not give orders to the members living in Iran. They do not need my orders, if you are talking about military orders. They know their duty."

When the protests in Tehran against his presence and activities in France were mentioned, the calm Rajavi grew angry (but without raising his voice!): "I have observed the greatest discretion since I came here," he protested.... so much so that because the telephone lines are tapped in Tehran the auvers exiles use "the telephone in France as little as possible" for calling Iran. He does not accept that Khomeyni--"who made a million times more use of French territory than Rajavi"--"should dictate to France the way in which it should interpret its constitution" (and essentially the right of asylum).

A Million Dead and Wounded

During this conversation the chairman of the "national resistance council" discussed other subjects:

Eurodif: "On behalf of the provisional government which is to be formed after Khomeyni's fall, we are strongly opposed to France (which received a $1 billion investment by the Shah in Eurodif--LE FIGARO editor's note) returning this money to the Khomeyni regime.... He will use it to buy bullets with which to shoot at the Iranian people."

The opposition's disunity: "If by that you mean the actual resistance inside Iran, it is not divided. Some 90 percent of political prisoners and victims of execution are Mojahedin.... but if you take into account the two living on the banks of the Seine who give interviews, you are right: The opposition is not united."

The links between Iraq, at war with Iran, and the Mojahedin-e Khalq: "From the start," he explained, "we told Khomeyni that, unlike potatoes and machine tools, the revolution could not be exported." Until June 1982--the date when Iraq withdrew from Khorramshahr--our militants fought stoically on the front and, when they pulled back they suffered harrassment from the revolution guards."

Rajavi received Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Auvers-sur-Oise eight months later, before reaching agreement with Baghdad on a plan for peace. "It was my duty to seize the flag of peace," Rajavi explained, stressing that "the Iranian people are now convinced that this was is contrary to their interests:" According to him, one million people have been killed or wounded, three million have become refugees, and $350 million worth of damage has been caused.

And he concluded with this explanation of the obstinacy of the old imam in his determination to punish Iraqi President Saddam Husayn: "the end of the war would mean the end of Khomeyni. He is continuing it to conceal the internal crisis shaking his regime."

/12913
CSO: 4619/26

TABRIZ CONDEMNS IRAQ'S USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS

GF171558 Tabriz International Service in Azeri 1745 GMT 16 Feb 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, the Iraqi regime's recourse once again to chemical weapons against the Iranian forces at the battlefronts of the imposed war has raised the question as to whether or not the silence adopted by international organizations regarding the military crimes committed by the Iraqi regime will create a dangerous situation. By using chemical weapons against the Islamic Republic's fighters following their latest victories on the battlefronts during the past few days and the liberation of the strategically important Al-Faw City, the Zionist Iraqi Ba'thist regime, disregarding the reactions against such an inhuman act, has added a new page to the list of its crimes.

The UN Security Council passed a resolution in April 1985 concerning the condemnation of Iraq's use of chemical weapons. Ten months after the adoption of the resolution, the Zionist Iraqi Ba'thist regime used such weapons again, and has done so again during the past few days. It is clear that the interdiction included in international agreements concerning this matter, and the 1925 protocol related to the use of chemical weapons, are not subject to the military or geographic positions of the sides. As such, the use of chemical arms on the basis of the excuses we have pointed to must not be accepted. [sentence as heard] In the event of such an occurrence, international organizations must strongly condemn it.

Therefore, the visit paid by the representatives of various countries to the victims of chemical bombardments who are in hospitals in Tehran, the noting of the wounding of a number of Iraqi troops by chemical bombs dropped by Iraqi aircraft on Iranian positions close to their lines, and the other documents and information made available by the Islamic Republic of Iran and UN delegations constitute factual evidence for condemning the measures taken by the Iraqi regime. Undoubtedly, the nature and effectiveness of the position to be adopted by international organizations will have a bearing on such measures in the future. Obviously, the Islamic Republic of Iran has made the required preparation for a retaliation. However, it would like to clarify the question as to whether the Iraqi regime, in disregard of many international condemnations, can allow itself to use chemical arms which are harmful to mankind whenever it chooses to do so. Do the UN Security Council and other international organizations not have to act on this matter? Should a possible measure taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran in the future not be regarded as one for defense?

Undoubtedly, the replies to be given to these questions and the possible reaction to be demonstrated by international organizations will have an effect on future changes. The hope of the Islamic Republic of Iran is for this effect being in the direction of the interests of the people of the region and the establishment of mutual trust.

/12232
CSO: 1831/417

IRAN

BRIEFS

IMPORT VOLUME ANNOUNCED—Kashan—KEYHAN Mobile Correspondent—For the current year, 16.2 percent of Iran's imports were from Islamic countries, 62 percent from Western countries, 11.4 percent from the East, and 10 percent from other countries. These statistics were announced by Islami Nasb, Deputy Minister of Commerce for Public Needs, at the latest national meeting of chamber of commerce, industry and mines directorates in Kashan. He added: The government imported 81.73 percent of all imports, the private sector 16.76 percent and the cooperative sector 1.51 percent of the imports for the first eight months of this year [21 March — 21 November 1985]. The Deputy Minister of Commerce noted that most of this year's imports came from Japan, Turkey, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and England. According to KEYHAN's mobile correspondent, the latest national meeting of chamber of commerce, industry and mines directorates at Kashan discussed ways to expand private sector cooperation with the government and studied ways to confront economic terrorism. Participants at this meeting proposed the formation of a system for controlling the collection of taxes and aligning people's facilities with the government in order to prevent clashes between workers and revenue agents. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Dec 85 p 1] 9310

MULLAHS' KGB CONTACTS REPORTED--During the visit to Tehran of the first deputy in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a foreign news publication wrote on the relations between Moscow and Tehran and said: Although there is nothing encouraging in relations between Tehran-Moscow, in other words between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic, the Soviet espionage and information organization (KGB) has maintained its relations with Mohammad Reyshahri', the minister of information and security of the Islamic Republic, and Fadhlollah Mohallati. These are the persons who had completed their training in East Europe and in the camps of the Palestinians. Foreign news reports with documentary proof from informed sources in the West say that Fadhalollah Mohallati, who is now in cahrge of the ideological section of the Guards Corps, along with Mohammed Musavi Kho'iniha and Hojjat ol-Eslam Reyshahri, who had been in training with the Soviet intelligence organization in the past, now are in charge of the terrorist activities of the Islamic Republic. [Text] [London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Feb 86 p 2 GF] /12232

BANK MELLI BALANCE SHEET--Economic Service--According to the general report of Bank Melli of Iran, at the end of the month of Mehr 1364 [22 October 1985] the total assets of this bank was 3.323 billion rials. In comparison to the similar period of last year this amount shows about a 33 percent increase. The balance of extended loans and credits from the total assets of the bank, which stands at 1.248 billion rials indicates a nearly 24 percent increase in comparison to the same figure of the end of the month of Mehr of 1363 [22 October 1984]. Similarly, the total amount of deposits at the end of the month in question was 2.306 billion rials, which showed a 23.3 percent increase over the similar month of one year ago. According to the same report, the balance of the deposits of loans without interest and deposits for short-term investments in the month of Mehr 1364 [23 September-22 October 1985] was 767 billion rials. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 Dec 85 p 1] 12719

CSO: 4640/166

END